



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-91-166
Tuesday
27 August 1991

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FBIS-APR-91-166

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Mugabe Addresses Arusha SADCC Summit Opening

*MB2608155091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1355 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Arusha Aug 26 SAPA—Southern African countries should "look forward with joy" to a post-apartheid South Africa joining the 10-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), according to Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe. The ZIANA news agency reported that Mr Mugabe, who was addressing the opening session of a one-day summit of heads of state of the regional organisation in Arusha, said South Africa's economy was three times bigger than that of the SADCC economies combined. South African participation would increase the organisation's resources and enable SADCC "to accelerate the developmental pace of our countries".

The Zimbabwean president began by saying there was a need for greater cooperation between the member nations "unless we want to abandon our goal of collective self-reliance, preferring instead to relegate ourselves to being a perpetual 'begging bowl'".

In his speech Mr Mugabe dealt with the possibility of donor fatigue and whether the organisation would have a role to play following peace in Angola and Mozambique and the apparent end of apartheid. He said that despite a hostile international economic environment, unfavourable weather conditions and brutal destabilisation by apartheid South Africa, SADCC had made some modest achievements which justified its continued existence.

Mr Mugabe said although it was true donors had played an important role in the funding of SADCC projects and in providing technical assistance, the regional grouping had already started formulating strategies to enable member countries to assume greater responsibility for the funding of projects. It was argued that a post-apartheid South Africa could easily take the role of cooperating partner through the provision of aid and investment capital to the organisation's member states. "It is our contention that the post-apartheid government in South Africa will be faced with the enormous task of reversing the structural imbalances created by apartheid as immediate priority.

"Although we are aware that South Africa's economy, apart from being the most sophisticated, is also bigger (three times bigger than that of the combined SADCC economies), we should look forward with joy to the membership of a democratic South Africa as that membership would increase the resources of our organisation and enable it to accelerate the developmental pace of our countries," Mr Mugabe said.

"If, as is increasingly evident, the 1990s are likely to be a decade of trading blocs and growing multi-lateralism, particularly with the consolidation of Europe into a common market in 1992... then Africa must surely strive harder at economic integration and cooperation during this current decade," he said.

Treaty To Formalize SADCC Viewed

*MB2608170491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1620 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Arusha Aug 26 SAPA—A treaty rather than a charter or agreement should formalise the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a four-man advisory team recommended to the summit of heads of state of member countries on Monday [26 August], the ZIANA news agency reported. The one-day summit is being held in Arusha in Zimbabwe [as received]. According to an aide-memoire presented to the summit by the advisory team, a treaty would be in line with modern international practice.

The team also recommended that the name of the organisation be changed to Southern African Development Community as: "This name flags the ultimate mission of the regional organisation, namely regional integration into a community." After consideration by member states, the document will be submitted to the 12th annual summit in August next year.

Tanzania's Mwinyi Addresses Summit

*MB2608174691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1638 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Arusha Aug 26 SAPA—Africa's top priority should be the quest for collective self-reliance after the collapse of colonialism and the imminent collapse of apartheid, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania said on Monday [26 August], Zimbabwe's ZIANA news agency reports. In his welcoming address to the heads of state of SADCC [Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference] countries, Mwinyi said the persistent economic crisis in Africa was a constant reminder that the immediate struggle before the continent was its economic liberation and the removal of abject poverty from among its people.

"We all agree that the struggle for economic liberation will require as much unity, dedication and cooperation as was the case with the struggle against colonialism and apartheid," he said. Mr Mwinyi said the goal to establish the much desired African economic community could be best achieved through sub-regional groupings such as SADCC.

"So our immediate task is to strengthen cooperation among countries of all the sub-region. We in SADCC have started well and achieved a great deal.

"But the potential still exists for closer and expanded cooperation among our countries. Let us therefore take full advantage of the existing opportunities and those which will emerge after the collapse of apartheid, to accelerate the economic integration of our sub-region," he said.

Mr Mwinyi paid tribute to the people of South Africa for their strong determination, bravery and persistence in confronting apartheid, and assured them of SADCC's continued moral and material support until final victory was achieved.

Chissano Addresses SADCC Countries

MB2608194091 Maputo Raao Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1745 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By Leonel Matias]

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has said there is an urgent need to create essential conditions that would enable the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC] to adjust itself without great difficulties to the new prospects that would result in South Africa joining the organization. Addressing the SADCC summit meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, today, President Joaquim Chissano called on political and democratic forces in the region to prepare themselves for a new phase in the organization, correcting mistakes inherited from the colonial past and promoting a balanced and harmonious regional development that would benefit all the SADCC member states.

President Chissano said that South Africa's membership of the SADCC organization will demand greater harmony between the various economic cooperation organizations in the region, notably the SADCC, the Preferential Trade Area, and the Customs Union. He said this is the first fundamental step that would enable the region to move toward creating an African economic community.

In his speech, President Chissano spoke of developments in Mozambique. He said the peace process continues to experience difficulties because of systematic delaying maneuvers mounted by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. President Joaquim Chissano accused Renamo of delaying the peace process, thus unnecessarily prolonging the people's suffering and causing destruction.

The Mozambican leader described as incomprehensible Renamo's rejection of principles proposed by mediators on political guarantees for both parties, after the signing of a cease-fire. The mediators proposed that the government should accord Renamo a privileged status while it would in turn recognize the Mozambican state, the government, the Constitution, and the country's laws. Chissano said that by rejecting such principles, Renamo is refusing to recognize Mozambique's independence, the Mozambican state, its sovereignty, institutions, and laws. President Chissano said, however, that the government would continue to undertake efforts in order to restore peace in the country.

The Mozambican leader also said that the country will firmly continue on the path of democratization which is already irreversible, for the country's total pacification,

rehabilitation, and development. The summit has already ended and the final communique is expected to be issued this evening.

Communique Urges RSA Sanctions

MB2608202091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2013 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Arusha, Tanzania, Aug 26 SAPA—The southern African region was undergoing fundamental economic, political and social changes which would have a major impact on its future, the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] said in a communique at the end of its summit on Monday [26 August] in the Tanzanian town of Arusha. Zimbabwe's ZIANA news agency reported that the leaders of the 10-member grouping were pleased at developments in South Africa, but still believed international sanctions should be maintained.

"The summit welcomed the ongoing process toward the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, as evidenced by the unbanning of the liberation movements and repeal of racist laws.

"The summit, however, observed that notwithstanding these encouraging developments, apartheid was still firmly in place in the social, economic and political fabric of South African life.

"The summit particularly regretted the continuing cycle of violence in South Africa and called on the South African regime to take decisive action to end the conflict," the communique said.

The SADCC leaders also called on the international community to maintain sanctions on South Africa to ensure the process of reform and negotiation led to the establishment of a non-racist and democratic South Africa. "In this regard, the summit strongly urged all countries, particularly African countries, to refrain from contact with South Africa until a new political dispensation acceptable to the majority of South Africans is in place," the communique said.

The leaders called on the liberation movements to coordinate their strategies and commit themselves to a common front of all anti-apartheid forces. "The summit, therefore, noted with appreciation the efforts by the black leadership in South Africa to establish a patriotic front against apartheid," the document added.

The talks between the warring parties in Mozambique were also welcomed by the summit leaders, as was the involvement of peace in Angola. "The summit commended the Government of Mozambique for its positive, flexible and constructive stand at the peace talks in Rome. It urged Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] to take these talks seriously".

The leaders noted with regret that the status of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, as an integral part of Namibia, remained unresolved.

The SADCC countries also said member countries should attempt to increase the region's food supply, as a deficit of 2.8 billion tonnes was expected this year. "The summit directed SADCC ministers of agriculture to take appropriate measures to improve the region's long-term food supply situation.

"The summit also called on the international community to provide assistance, particularly to Angola and Mozambique, where food shortages were expected to be most critical," the communique said.

The leaders accepted the offer by Namibia to host the 1992 SADCC summit in Windhoek.

Economic Problems Discussed

MB0708064991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2043 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Arusha Aug 26 SAPA—The economic problems of the 10 member states of the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC] were mainly due to a lack of skilled people without professions and entrepreneurship, which resulted in low productivity, Botswana President Quett Masire told a one-day SADCC summit on Monday.

Speaking in Arusha, Tanzania, where the SADCC's heads of state are meeting, he painted a gloomy economic picture for member states, Zimbabwe's ZIANA news agency reports.

He believed, however, the potential existed to mobilise more of the region's resources for development.

The continuing economic backwardness of SADCC's member states was a direct result of individual and institutional "capacity weaknesses", Mr Masire said.

"The roots of our problems lie deep in the region's irony of abundant people without skills, professions and entrepreneurship, achieving very low levels of productivity.

"No amount of foreign aid or investment will change this reality. Only our own innovation, creativity and hard work will take us forward."

Regional unemployment was bad and growing, social services and institutions were deteriorating, and due to worsening poverty, anti-social behaviour was taking hold of communities in member countries.

"The phenomenon of the street kids, fast growing in all our countries, is an affront to traditional African values of the family. Furthermore, it is a serious threat to the quality of tomorrow's leadership, and hence the stability of our societies."

Mr Masire called for a review of the staffing and management of national and regional institutions with a view to stepping-up productivity.

He pointed out that none of SADCC's members had the resources or capacity to support the full spectrum of activities associated with modern economies.

"Advanced training institutions are too expensive and beyond the capacity of any of us individually to support.

"We are rich in natural resources, but our capacity to exploit them to full advantage is limited by our technological dependence, and our small and truncated markets.

"Industrialisation needs inputs, technologies, skills and markets, which none of us individually can master to the full extent," Mr Masire said.

PAC President Comments

MB2708070791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2201 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 26 SAPA—Unwarranted euphoria at recent developments in South Africa had led to the premature lifting of some sanctions, Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] President Clarence Makwetu told a one-day Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC] summit in Arusha, Tanzania, on Monday.

Zimbabwe's ZIANA news agency reported Mr Makwetu spoke on behalf of South Africa's liberation movements.

"When we in the liberation movement warn about unwarranted euphoria, we seek to forestall such setbacks as the recent premature lifting of sanctions," he told the heads of states of SADCC's 10 members states.

"Sports sanctions and those of the United States Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act are a case in point."

In reference to recent disclosures of government funding of Inkatha and a number of smaller organisations in South Africa, Mr Makwetu warned it would be dangerous "to weaken our stand" by lifting sanctions.

Kaunda on RSA Participation in PTA, SADCC

MB2508202691 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpts] President Kaunda has appealed to the Mufulira Chamber of Commerce and Industry to build strong links between government ministries and various chambers of commerce. Officiating at a colorful award [word indistinct] ceremony at the Mufulira Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Mufulira last night, Dr. Kaunda said there is need for business cooperation to foster development. [passage omitted]

Speaking at the same ceremony, Dr. Kaunda called on the business community in the country to work hard and ensure that South Africa is incorporated into the Preferential Trade Area and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. He said Zambia has no

choice now that the East-West confrontation is waning, adding that there is need for African countries to come together economically.

He said the whole of Europe is bound to come under one major economic body, the European Economic Community, which the Soviet Union may soon join to form a stronger economic body. Dr. Kaunda cautioned that this strong economic relation could threaten the economic survival of African countries if they do not work together.

Chissano Names Regional Information Chairman

MB2608151091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has appointed Information Minister Rafael Maguni to the post of Regional Information and Cultural Program Coordination Commission [CCPIC] chairman. The Mozambican head of state appointed Culture Minister Mateus Catupa as deputy chairman.

The CCPIC has just been created in the country. A presidential decree states that the creation of that organ was approved by the SADCC Council of Ministers in August 1990 to coordinate cooperation in the fields of information and culture. That decree notes that the decision reflects the need to perfect SADCC as a development tool by deepening the concept of development itself. The SADCC Council of Ministers appointed Mozambique as coordinator of the information and culture sector. It made our country responsible for adopting the mechanisms needed for its functioning. The CCPIC is a Council of Ministers organ with legal powers and with administrative and financial autonomy.

'Alarming' External Debt in PTA

MB2608124791 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 26 Aug 91 p 6

[Text] Lusaka: The alarming levels of external debt in the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) member states indicate the urgent need for regional cooperation in trade.

According to the editorial of the PTA newsletter released last week, the total debt of the 17 members excluding Somalia, increased from 36.416 billion U.S. dollars in 1985 to 54.437 billion U.S. dollars in 1989.

An economist at the PTA secretariat in Lusaka said the figure stated in the newsletter was conservative and estimated this to have gone up to about 64 billion U.S. dollars.

Zambia's debts amounted to over 7.2 billion U.S. dollars by 1989, second only to Sudan whose external debt amounted to about 12.3 billion U.S. dollars in the same year. The lowest debt figure was for Djibouti with only 191 million U.S. dollars.

Increase over the 1985 figures in terms of bank percentage and not in real terms, Angola recorded the highest followed by Burundi and Lesotho.

This aspect is attributed to donors demanding conditions on borrowed funds while some of them required the debtor countries to source goods from them even if such goods were available locally.

Inadequate production of quality export goods has contributed to trade imbalances, falling prices of primary commodities, high interest rates, depreciation of national currencies and dependence on mono export products.

On a favourable note, the newsletter said the intra-PTA trade increased by 6 percent during same period but it called for increased trade among the member countries to realise the projected goals.

Burundi

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Ends Visit

EA2308132591 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale
du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Yesterday Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwean minister of foreign affairs, ended his four-day visit during which he met several of the country's officials including the president of the Republic, the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, and the minister of trade and industry. Jerome Ntaguzwa summarizes the meetings.

[Ntaguzwa] Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira's meetings with Burundi authorities centered on cooperation. On bilateral relations between Burundi and Zimbabwe, it was noted that Burundi had liberalized her imports from Zimbabwe but that exports to Zimbabwe were faced with many hindrances. A solution was suggested: the removal of tariff barriers and the implementation of agreements which were decided by the Preferential Trade Area institutions. [passage omitted]

New areas of cooperation were explored: transport, mines, and education which will have to be materialized by the signing of an economic, technical, scientific, and cultural agreement negotiated between Burundi and Zimbabwe.

On transport, the two countries decided to make efforts to develop Mpulungu Port and air traffic between Burundi and Zimbabwe. On education, the Burundi side said that the university of Burundi was ready to take Zimbabwean nationals who would be interested in improving their French skills at the Burundi language teaching center, Celab.

Congo

Chairman Wants Harmony Between President, Premier

AB2308200591 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Two and a half months after the Congolese national conference, the political climate is not all together calm. Yesterday in Libreville Monsignor Ernest Kombo, chairman of the Higher Council of the Republic, met the Gabonese head of state and publicly called for the harmonization of views between President Sassou-Nguesso and Prime Minister Andre Milongo.

It will be recalled that in a recent interview with JEUNE AFRIQUE, Mr. Milongo stated and I quote, I am not accountable to President Sassou-Nguesso, unquote. Monsignor Kombo, you are our guest. What do you have to say about the prime minister's statement?

[Kombo] Whether he is accountable to the president or not, he can make that statement because of the Constitution or rather the Fundamental Law. You know that when we form one body, we cannot boast of a certain

degree of independence or autonomy. If the head of state does not play his role as a gateway to the outside, the prime minister may very well be rendered ineffective despite the powers conferred on him by the national conference. Although we are arbiters, we might become helpless spectators to a stagnation between the two structures. So, we must not simplify or read too much into this assertion; it must be understood in the context of the institution. Indeed, he has all the powers conferred on him by the sovereign national conference, but he cannot act without the Higher Council, he cannot act without the president of the Republic, and all the three institutions are obliged to collaborate. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A last question, Monsignor Kombo. Considering the means at the disposal of the current Congolese Government, do you think you can successfully get through the current transitional period until the next elections?

[Kombo] I believe God will help us, that the people will tighten their belts, that friends will assist us, and that together we will be able to meet the challenges to be faced. Scientifically, I cannot say yes or no. Here I am making a profession of faith. I believe God will help us and I believe we are going to tighten our own belts. We think and believe that friends will help us and together the challenges will be met.

Reportage on Foreign Minister's Visit to Israel

WA2308140091

For reportage on the visit by Jean-Blaise Kololo, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, to Israel, including reports on his talks with Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi, the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and Kololo's comments on developments in the USSR, please see the Israel section of the 23 August and subsequent issues of the Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT.

Zaire

Mobutu Receives Invitation From al-Qadhdhafi

EA2408093891 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French
0500 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Yesterday the Libyan ambassador in Kinshasa, Mr. (Muhammad Mukari Amuda), was received by the president of the Republic aboard the MS Kamanyola [presidential ship]. The ambassador conveyed to him the invitation of the Libyan head of state, Colonel Mu'amar al-Qadhdhafi, to take part in the inauguration ceremonies of an important economic realization on 28 August in Benghazi. The Libyan diplomat did not disclose the nature of the response of the head of state, as is the tradition in such circumstances, but he said that the two heads of state are determined to develop the cooperation between the countries in (?the framework) of complementarity at the economic level.

Ethiopia**Salih Leads Sudanese Delegation to Asmera**

EA2308221091 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] A high-ranking Sudanese Government delegation led by Major General al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, deputy prime minister of the Government of Sudan, arrived at Asmera International Airport 22 August at 1645. The Sudanese delegation included al-Fatih Urwah [adviser to Umar al-Bashir]; 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi, minister of finance; Ibrahim Ubaydullah [Muhammad], economic committee adviser; (al-Sheksiz Ahmad), [word indistinct] of culture; and other officials. Mr. Muhammad Siad Barre, foreign affairs secretary, and Mr. al-Amin Muhammad Said, secretary of national guidance of the provisional government of Eritrea, welcomed the delegation at Asmera International Airport. The head of the delegation, Maj. Gen. al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, said at a press conference that the delegation was here to convey the best wishes of the people and Government of Sudan to the Eritrean people and to discuss economic, trade, and other issues of mutual interest between the two brotherly peoples.

Delegation Departs Eritrea

EA2408212391 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Major General al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, deputy prime minister of Sudan, said that his government will support the Eritreans in their efforts to rebuild their country, which was destroyed by war. He made this statement at Asmera Airport on his way home. The Sudanese delegation led by the deputy prime minister concluded its working visit to Asmera and departed this morning at 0800. Mr. Isayas Afewerki, secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, saw the delegation off at the airport. [passage omitted]

Sudan Donates Food, Money to Eritrean People

EA2508152791 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Sudanese Government has donated 1 million quintals of food grain and 1 million U.S. dollars to the Eritrean people. This aid was made by the Sudanese Government to assist the Eritrean people in their task of reconstructing their country after 30 years of war. The Provisional Government of Eritrea on behalf of the Eritrean people thanked the Sudanese Government and the brotherly people of Sudan for their solidarity and aid. [passage omitted]

Tanzania**Iranian Delegation Begins Two-Day Visit**

EA2308150091 Zanzibar Voice of Tanzania in Swahili 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Zanzibar—A 35-man Iranian delegation, led by Mr. Mohsen Rafiq-Dust, the country's vice president [title as heard], arrived in Zanzibar this evening for a two-day visit. The delegation was met at the airport by Comrade Isaac Sepetu, minister of state for planning in the Office of the President, and other party and government leaders.

According to the delegation's itinerary, it held a meeting which was opened by Comrade Isaac Sepetu, minister of state for planning in the office of the president, at Bwawani Hotel this evening. Tomorrow the delegation will visit the old town and sign an agreement with the revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. It will also hold talks with the chief minister, Dr. Omar Ali Juma. The delegation is expected to return to Dar es Salaam tomorrow.

Meets With Mwinyi

EA2308170091 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Dar es Salaam—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has urged developing countries to strengthen economic relations to promote joint self-reliance. The president said this today during talks with Mr. Mohsen Rafiq-Dust, the Iranian vice president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who is also leader of the Iranian economic corporation. At the talks held at State House, Dar es Salaam, President Mwinyi said cooperation between developing countries was vital, especially now when rich nations have clearly shown more care for their interests and are uniting.

During the meeting, President Mwinyi endorsed Iran's intention to strengthen relations with Tanzania in the industrial, construction, technology, transportation, agricultural, and trade sectors.

On international issues, President Mwinyi agreed with the Iranian stand that the Palestinians choose their own representatives to the peace talks which are expected to take place in October this year.

At the talks, the Iranian vice president conveyed to President Mwinyi an official message from President Rafsanjani of Iran. The talks were also attended by Mr. Cleopa Msuya, minister of industry and trade.

President Grants 'Exclusive Interview'

MB2308180091 Johannesburg NEW NATION
in English 23-29 Aug 91 pp 6, 7

["Exclusive interview" with President F.W. de Klerk by unidentified NEW NATION correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text]NEW NATION [NN]: During the international press conference in Pretoria last month, you said you were satisfied that the security forces were not involved in acts of violence. On the other hand, you said that you demoted ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan to remove the controversy surrounding the security forces. How could you hope to remove the controversy without removing the people who worked under these two ministers and who are believed to have planned acts of violence? F.W. de Klerk [FW]: I am not prepared to discuss the composition of the cabinet. It's not part of convention to discuss in detail motivations and reasons for appointments to the cabinet.

I made an exception on this occasion and made the point that it is important for South Africa to have its security forces as uncontroversial as forces. Due to the continued political attacks on those two individuals, who have been in these positions in a different era, from many years back. [sentence as published] Their shift to civil departments is not demotion—each and every department in government is important. Therefore, their removal would hopefully contribute to also assure the continued depoliticisation of our security forces.

It is the policy of the government that the security forces are there, the police, in the first instance, to safeguard the life and property of all South Africans. They must be impartial. They must fight crime, prevent crime and, if a crime is committed, find the perpetrator of the crime and bring him before the courts.

It is the task of the South African Defence Force to guard our borders, to guard over the integrity of the country and to play a role of assistance, if it is required, in maintaining law and order and security inside South Africa. That policy I want to implement. I will not stand for any element not performing, not implementing, that policy.

It's possible that, in the security forces, an individual, or two or three individuals might—against the policy—against the orders, against regulations, against the law, do certain things which are wrong. And I am absolutely committed, when I get evidence on that, to follow it up and to cut the matter apart.

NN: Have you ordered the newly-appointed ministers to restructure the security forces entirely, because one would believe that it was not minister Malan or Vlok who personally ordered or allowed all the wrongdoings of the security forces?

FW: The security force structures must keep pace with the needs of the country. In as much as changes might be

indicated because of new needs arising, because of new circumstances developing, we will look in a constructive spirit at such needs.

It has been announced by minister Vlok, I think, that certain investigations are being carried out. And we have an approach that we must keep up with the needs and new circumstances.

NN: Suppose an official of the security forces whom you have trusted and given responsibilities to has ordered his juniors to perform some duty which is contrary to policy. Why doesn't the state take responsibility for the orders its man gave in the course of the performance of his duties?

FW: The state can't take responsibility. If the state knows about it and keeps quiet, then the state become coresponsible. But if the state gets evidence of that, and then takes steps against such a person, because he acted contrary to policy, contrary to orders, contrary to regulations, then the state fulfills its obligations and responsibilities.

NN: You have spoken about instituting a commission of inquiry into allegations of security force involvement in violence. However, commissions of inquiry don't seem to have worked in South Africa. Commentators have instead suggested that someone who is alleged to have taken part in an act of violence should be brought before a court of law and there found innocent or guilty. Why does the state stick to the long road of a commission of inquiry?

FW: Firstly, you cannot charge a person in court unless you have evidence. And we have charged, and will continue to charge people guilty of crimes. You can only take a person to court if he commits a crime. If there's prima facie evidence that he did so. And we will not hesitate, and we have not hesitated to do so.

But a commission of inquiry has a wider scope. It can also investigate malpractice which might not constitute a crime. And the courts are there to try people who are charged with regard to a crime, that is one of the main differences.

But we have ourselves identified certain shortcomings in the existing laws on commissions of inquiry. We are looking into that. But, in the meantime, this new standing commission is specifically brought into being through special legislation, which contains one very important clause, namely, that a witness who gives incriminating evidence, incriminating himself, that the evidence may not be used in another court of law.

This makes it safe and easy for a witness who has facts at his disposal, or her disposal, to come forward, even though that might mean admitting being implicated in a crime. That is an important broadening which offers security to such witnesses and which hopefully will help us to get at the truth. And hopefully such witnesses will come to the fore.

NN: If someone was involved in such things and he knows how the covert network operates, and he wants some other guarantees, what would the government do?

FW: I'm also on record as saying that arrangements can be made for the personal safety of the witnesses.

NN: You denied that there were foreign nationals serving in the SA [South African] Defence Force against their will. What would you do should it be proved that that is so and that people have been abducted from their countries and forced to serve?

FW: I would immediately take steps to rectify it, because that would mean that I'd been misinformed. And I would take a very serious view of that, and I would take steps.

NN: What kind of steps?

FW: Well, like finding out who misinformed me.

NN: You have indicated that the government is not opposed to transitional arrangements to supervise the transition period in South Africa. Our understanding of the government's version is that such a structure would operate within the framework of the present government. Wouldn't that mean co-option of leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations into the present government?

FW: Our point of view is that there must be transitional arrangements and that we cannot create a constitutional vacuum; that government must be based on the constitution as it is or as it may be from time to time. And must be subject to the constitution. It cannot be above the constitution.

Furthermore, there are various possible scenarios, and our point of view is that this must also be the subject of negotiation. I purely stated, I don't want to be a referee and player at the same time. I don't want to have an undue advantage to manipulate events.

It is not my attitude. I want negotiations to succeed. But I cannot agree, ever, to create a constitutional vacuum and to have unconstitutional government in South Africa.

NN: The ANC [African National Congress] is calling for an interim government and for the present government to dissolve. You seem not to agree.

FW: But, now, if that happens, who constitutes the new government, responsible to whom? On what basis? Where's democracy?

NN: Who would have more powers between the structure you envisage, which will be made of representatives from a wide range of organisations, and the present parliament, which represents only a minority?

FW: I'm not and I haven't ever publicly put a specific proposal on that matter. I say we must negotiate. And, therefore, I'm not prepared now to develop a specific scenario in a press interview.

When we get to the multi-party conference, we will talk about various possibilities of transitional arrangements. And we are quite open to it.

Where within the present constitution we can do so, we are prepared to do so.

NN: You have expressed concern over the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance. If Cuba, which has never changed its position on communism, wanted to open an embassy in Pretoria, that would be perceived as a change of attitude towards South Africa. Yet the government is concerned about the SACP, which is here and willing to negotiate?

FW: There's a fundamental difference between entering into formal relationships with other countries and the main principle that when countries have diplomatic ties with each other, you have those ties irrespective of whether you agree with each other's internal policies.

That is a totally different configuration than when you talk about political philosophy. I am anti-communist. I think communism is not only a dangerous ideology, I think it has failed dismally and therefore I am strongly opposed to it. And while I'm prepared, as I've said publicly, to talk about the rules of the game to everybody, I can't see myself in a close alliance to a communist party because we are worlds apart in what we believe.

NN: Suppose the SACP wins an election. What would the NP [National Party] do? Would it block that government?

FW: Well, firstly, I think it's absolutely speculative, because I don't think the Communist Party can ever win an election. I think they're a small party, and I don't think they have growth potential, I'm not worried about them. So it's a speculative question.

If there's a new constitution which comes about constitutionally, the National Party will operate within the framework of the constitution, and the constitution will determine how the government is composed, and how democracy is maintained in South Africa. And the government, the National Party, will abide by the new constitution. We are democrats.

NN: You undertook to hold a referendum in the white community to gauge the acceptability of a new constitution. Will this still take place?

FW: I want to ask everybody to show understanding. We changed our policy in 1986 and said we now stand for power sharing with all South Africans. And we asked the white electorate there who mandated us before in a previous election for separate development. We changed our mandate from separate development to power sharing, full political rights for all South Africans working for one nation.

Give us a mandate for negotiation, but we cannot tell you now how that will be attained. And we give you the undertaking that once we've negotiated, we will come

back to you so that you can say whether we operated within your mandate, whether you are satisfied. This assurance was given by my predecessor. I reiterated it in the last general election, and I am bound by word of honour to do so.

NN: In other words, if the white electorate rejects the new constitution, you will abide by that?

FW: Can I just say, the opposite is also true. If they say they're very pleased with the new constitution, but the rest of the population is not supportive of the new constitution, it would also be folly to try and force it down their throats.

In other words, I'm not only interested in what the whites say, that is one issue. But I'm also equally interested in what the rest of the population says about the new constitution.

NN: What would happen if that referendum was held now that the National Party has members of other races? Would it be fair for black NP members not to have a vote on the new constitution while their white colleagues have it?

FW: I'm not at all excluding a referendum which will simultaneously test the views of all South Africans, so that we can know how everybody feels. Because the new constitution, if it is to succeed, it must have the broad support of the majority of all people. Otherwise it won't succeed. And I'm working for such a constitution. With the idea of a referendum, I would like to be satisfied that the various component parts of our population support the new constitution.

NN: The government has removed almost all the pillars of apartheid, but we still have Bantu Education, which has been at the centre of confrontation in many instances. Why is it being kept?

FW: The problem with education is that it is written into the constitution. And, therefore, how education is to be organised in the future and structured from a governmental point of view goes hand in hand with what the new constitution looks like.

Let me give you an example. We can have a constitution which devolutes power, for instance, to regional governments. We'll have to negotiate.

Is education a matter, as in Germany, for instance, which rests mainly in the hands of the regional government, or should it be the prime responsibility of the central government as in some other countries?

We don't even know yet what regional governments will look like in South Africa. And, therefore, it is absolutely entwined with constitutional negotiations.

But that doesn't mean that we're not doing anything with regard to education in the meantime. I'm working for a

conference or a working group or whatever in which all the important role players active in education will be represented.

And we can now already start talking about how education must be reformed. I'm on record to say we need a new education system in which there will not be discrimination on the basis of race or colour or any other basis; in which there will be equal subsidy from government funds and I believe in which there must also be room for community-based and community-orientated education for those who want it within that framework.

NN: The funding issue seems to be at the centre of the present crisis in education. When will the government equalise funding?

FW: Well, it's a very complicated subject. That has been the subject of discussions now over months within a working group. We're also having discussions with other main role players.

We are working towards it. It cannot be obtained overnight. Let me give you for instance just one statistic. Last year, so-called white education increased in its expenditure by only 1.2 percent, which is well below the inflation rate, whereas black education increased by 20 percent.

NN: There are ongoing rumours that some elements within South Africa are supporting the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels in Mozambique. What role will the government play to assist the peace process in Mozambique?

FW: There is no truth, in my knowledge, that South Africa is supporting Renamo... In discussions with president (Joaquim) Chissano (of Mozambique), he accepted this.

We are playing such a constructive role now in Angola and we are in regular contact with president Chissano, also on playing a constructive role in Mozambique.

If a constructive role means helping the parties make progress in their discussions, we will do so, but not in a clandestine manner, not without the knowledge of both parties.

We want this process to succeed, because it is important to them, but it is also in the best interest of South Africa.

Pik Botha, Joe Slovo Debate USSR Failed Coup

*MB2408190091 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 2040 GMT 22 Aug 91*

[Debate between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, moderated by South African Broadcasting Corporation Correspondent Penny Smythe in Johannesburg on the "AGENDA" program—live]

[Text] [Smythe] And now I'd like to welcome Foreign Minister Pik Botha and the general secretary of the

South African Communist Party [SACP], Mr. Joe Slovo, to the Agenda studio. Good evening gentlemen. Thank you for being with us. Mr. Slovo, if I may begin with you, what was your immediate reaction when you heard of the coup attempt?

[Slovo] It was one of complete opposition to the attempt, to this adventure, and one of grave apprehension that the process which had been started by Gorbachev in 1986, which has gone through so many ups and downs, and so many difficulties, might once again face the danger of a reversion to everything that in the past has discredited and distorted democratic socialism. Therefore, obviously, I felt very strongly that this was a coup of conservatives, a coup of, one might call, the old troglodytes of the party movement, who unfortunately remain in the woodwork here and there, and therefore my own response was absolutely clear, and we made that clear publicly.

[Smythe] Mr. Slovo, you mentioned there Mr. Gorbachev's system of democratic socialism, and that's something which you mention quite regularly—democratic socialism. As somebody who has similar feelings to Mr. Gorbachev, on the future of communism, or on the future of the Soviet Union. Why then did it take so long for the SACP to actually come forward and denounce this coup?

[Slovo] Well, that was the story spread. It was again part of the kind of smear that we face continuously. The facts are the news of the coup came through on Monday. We made a short statement in immediate reaction on Tuesday. I gave a long interview to the Voice of America on that Tuesday, again expressing, without any confession or qualification, our support for the Gorbachev road for the constitutional way. And on the Wednesday we issued a very full statement articulating all that once again.

[Smythe] Well, that's sort of 48 hours after the fact, with respect, that it came through to the local population here that you felt so strongly, whereas many other parties and nations reacted immediately.

[Slovo] Well, I think we reacted almost as quickly as the Foreign Ministry of this country. First of all, the news was initially confusing. One had to find out what went on, but within eight hours of the news coming through we issued a statement. The fact that it...

[Smythe, interrupting] Are you saying wasn't presented...

[Slovo, continuing] The fact that it wasn't given headlines, which is part of the difficulty we face in this country with the media, doesn't in any way indicate the we delayed our responses.

[Smythe] I would like to mention, of course, that in an interview today, in London, Mr. Gorbachev expressed bitterness over what he termed, betrayal by those he had promoted and trusted. Now, as you say, you condemned the coup, but there were sections of the SACP who

supported the coup. Now, could you possibly clarify what could be seen as confusion there?

[Slovo] There was one unauthorized statement by one of our regions. We immediately issued a statement saying they had no authority to say this, and it did not reflect the views of the leadership. And it does indicate something that we do not hide. That the battle within our own ranks, in order to move away from the sort of heritage of years and years of what one could call Stalinism. It's not a battle which is won overnight, but we are absolutely confident that the overwhelmingly dominant view in our ranks is to look upon the future of socialism in the Gorbachev way.

[Smythe] Mr. Botha, if I may turn to you. What effect, if any, did the West's negative response to the coup have on the outcome do you think?

[Botha] I think a very decisive outcome. I think the coup plotters underestimated world reaction, and they overestimated their own support. What worries me a little bit about Mr. Slovo, is that he now suddenly poses as a Gorbachev man. But then I do not deny him the right to do so, but I would like to know whether he now supports a market orientated economic system, private property rights, and whether he has now abandoned Marxism altogether. I think the public would be interested to hear his views.

[Smythe] Would you consider yourself a sort of an ex-communist or an enlightened communist?

[Slovo] I am an existing communist. I don't believe that Gorbachev has abandoned Marxism in the sense in which the word is used by the minister.

[Botha] He has.

[Slovo] I believe that he has introduced, quite correctly, or attempted to introduce the market element into the economy. I believe one of the basic disasters of past socialist economies is the elimination of the market factor which is the only effected mechanism for demonstrating economic viability. And, in regard to private property, I don't think he has handed over the state industry to private hands. He has, I think quite correctly, in the circumstances facing the Soviet Union, moved in the direction of encouraging a certain degree of private participation in the economy.

[Smythe] But can you actually reform or restructure communism once you take away what he's doing, which is the central control of the state? Surely you know it's totalitarianist as a concept. Surely once you take away that control its not communism anymore.

[Slovo] Well I think communism failed in so far as it failed precisely because it became a command, centralized, bureaucratic system, precisely because socialism was separated from democracy. And in our view the Gorbachev revolution—by the way we are not new found converts to Gorbachev, unlike many of our friends here.

We have been supporting him right from the word go in 1985 and that Gorbachev revolution in my view will in the long run, despite all the difficulties he is going through, save the kind of socialism that we stand for and that I believe he stands for.

[Smythe] Mr. Botha what do you believe Mr. Gorbachev, obviously it's a considered opinion...

[Botha, interrupting] It's quite clear. I had in my office the other day the president of the Soviet Union's Chamber of Commerce who totally contradicts every word Mr. Slovo is saying here.

[Smythe] Can you explain that?

[Botha] (?It's there when) I study Mr. Gorbachev's speeches. We are in contact with the official Soviet Government. There is no question in my mind that President Bush praised what is happening there. So did most Western leaders.

[Smythe] You mean denounced the ...

[Botha, interrupting] They denounced Marxism which Mr. Slovo hasn't done. Now whether he has got a new brand, a Slovo brand of socialism, the rose smells the same. It's the same story. It's the same thing: central planning. It's an incurable disease. You cannot cure it. It kills enthusiasm, individualism. It makes it impossible to compete. It is suffocating individual freedom. Socialism in its essence is a tyrannical system because it robs the individual from freedom of choice and competition.

[Smythe] Would you accept the fact that communism as one has known it and as you say, that things have changed and identities have changed, definitions have possibly changed, does actually rob people of their creativity and their, you know, individual thinking?

[Slovo] I think socialism in the way it was practiced in the Soviet Union under Stalin and in the East European Bloc did precisely that, but let me say in relation to Minister Botha's statement about the road that the Soviet Union is taking: I don't think he could produce either today or after he examines his files a single statement by Gorbachev that we are now taking the capitalist road. He talks about a controlled market economy with a broad objective of building a democratic socialist, socioeconomic formation in the Soviet Union

[Botha] In his press interview of over an hour, President Gorbachev not once used the word communism. We know what he stands for. I read his speech on the new Union Treaty in terms of which the republics will receive greater autonomy and in which diversity will be fully recognized, (?facts of) the score board counts: Eastern Germany a per capita income of something like 800 German marks; Western Germany 4,000; Red China 350 dollars; Republic of China 8,000. It's the score card that counts. We can argue, and I know Mr. Slovo, for hours about theories, technicalities. It is the score card that counts.

[Smythe, interrupting] Can I just ...

[Botha, continues] Communism is dead. It is dead.

[Smythe] Can I just ...

[Slovo, interrupting] If you want to get away from theories and technicalities perhaps ...

[Smythe, interrupting] Yes, I'd like to...

[Slovo, continues] ...what we should recall is a recent article in the CITIZEN about Poland, for example, where the Polish state television carried out a poll amongst the existing Polish population and 60 percent of those polled gave the answer that economically they were better off under communism than they are now. Now I'm not trying to defend the previous tyranny and the previous centralized command economy, but we must not exaggerate this: that despite all these enormous distortions which no one can defend, in many respects the Soviet Union and many of these countries who are pioneers of things that we accept now as part of a civilized way of life.

They were the pioneers of the eight-hour day, of equal pay for equal work, of free health services and let us not forget that socialism, despite its miserable failures, showed an enormous potential, which unfortunately was frustrated by the Stalinist tyranny.

[Smythe] Alright, may I just change the slant here for a second and ask Mr. Botha: With the constant threats of violence from the rightwing in this country, how nervous did this coup attempt make the South African Government?

[Botha] Not at all. The South African Government is in control and we have made vast progress in consultation with other parties, including the ANC, Inkatha, and others on, hopefully, an agreement which will curb, and I hope terminate violence. But violence is generated in this country not only from the right. What I'm concerned about is the mass demonstrations which often end in criminality and trying to make the country ungovernable.

[Smythe] Well what about the ...

[Botha, interrupting] Mr. Gorbachev stands for negotiation and the resolution of problems through negotiation. He does not stand for mass demonstrations and he does not support people who wish to make the Soviet Union ungovernable.

[Smythe] Right, well could I ...

[Slovo, interrupting] Can I just say a word on this mass demonstration. It's a very important point because ...

[Smythe, intrerrupting] May I come back to Mr. Slovo, in one second ...

[Slovo, continues] it's precisely the mass demonstrations ...

[Smythe, interrupting] because I just want to ask you both just for an opinion here. Mr. Slovo perhaps you could give an opinion. The Union Treaty which is about to be signed in the Soviet Union—as they say here all nations will manage their affairs on their own, will freely develop their culture, language, and tradition. Do you feel this is a way that we could go in this country?

[Slovo] I believe the situation is quite different in this country. I have not examined the Union Treaty in any kind of detail but on the surface it does reflect the realities of the Soviet Union which does as a fact consist of a combination of sovereign peoples and nations which have been there even before the Bolshevik revolution.

I don't believe that we can take any model from anywhere, whether it's the Soviet Union or elsewhere, we must create our own model out of our own objective realities.

[Smythe] Alright, before I ask Mr. Botha for his opinion on that Mr. Slovo, could you give us an example of where you believe communism has worked? You say we can't take models from anywhere else but I think we all look for guidelines from somewhere else, and you know, in your position, where would you say the system has worked?

[Slovo] Well I believe if you ask a general question I can't give you a straight answer because each of the systems that have tried it have come up against problems and there have been failures. But as I tried to indicate earlier aspects of communism have succeeded and aspects of communism have shown the potential which I believe is the only sort of rational way in which in the end humanity can order its life, that is to build a society ...

[Smythe, interrupting] Which aspects?

[Slovo, continuing] which is eventually to build a society in which one person doesn't live off the labor of another.

[Smythe] Mr. Botha ...

[Botha, interrupting] Communism is basically incurable.

[Smythe, interrupting] Could you comment on the ...

[Botha, interrupting] No I just want to make this point clear. It cannot be applied correctly because it's an incurable disease. It destroys humanity. It destroys initiative, individuality. It takes away, it makes people lazy. They stop thinking. They stop working. They stop planning. They become useless pawns, that's what they are.

So secondly, the new Union Treaty of the Soviet Union is a very interesting document. I would urge my friend Mr. Slovo to study it. He can learn a lot from it because their diversity is recognized to avoid clashes. Full rights, equality is accepted, yes, but diversity is recognized and they are going to try to channel it in such a way that they would avoid future clashes. We can indeed learn from it. I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind about it.

But let me say this: If Mr. Slovo is now abandoning Marxism, accepting a market-orientated economic system ...

[Smythe, interrupting] Do you Mr. Slovo?

[Botha, continues] private property rights, freedom of expression...

[Smythe, interrupting] Do you accept that?

[Botha, continues] freedom of religion then I will be the first person to say well I think there is hope for us.

[Smythe] Just very briefly Mr. Slovo, is that ...

[Slovo, interrupting] Well I accept completely the multiparty system. I accept freedom of religion. I accept the concept of diversity and this is all reflected in our documents on the future constitutional dispensation in this country. I do not accept the implication that all this means an abandonment of the socialist objective. In fact, I believe this is the only way, eventually, to effectively reinforce the socialist objective. (It can) only be built within a framework of absolute and unqualified democracy, and by the way, lessons in democracy coming from those who have run this apartheid state for 40 years sound to me very unconvincing.

[Smythe] Well ...

[Botha, interrupting] We abandoned apartheid. We admitted it was a mistake, and this is my advice to you. Admit Marxism is incurable and throw it out of the window. We have done it. We have done it openly and we have declared ourselves and the world has accepted it. Mr. Slovo will not get a single country in the world today who will invest if his party comes to power in this country. Not a single government or bank or financial institution will ever invest in terms of his concept of socialism.

[Smythe] Thank you Mr. Botha and thank you Mr. Slovo. I'm sorry we have to end right there. And good-night from me and from Pat.

Slovo on Lessons From Soviet Coup

*MB2608113591 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Aug 91 p 6*

[Report by Patrick Laurence: "Democracy the Lesson of Soviet Coup—Slovo"]

[Text] The crisis in the Soviet Union has re-emphasised the need for communist parties to democratise themselves, said Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP], yesterday.

Speaking in the wake of Mikhail Gorbachev's dramatic resignation at the weekend as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Mr. Slovo said: "Perhaps he waited too long and was too slow in doing something about (democratising) the party."

Mr. Slovo, whose SACP has a chance of sharing power with the African National Congress [ANC] after South Africa's first post-apartheid national election, identified what he saw as a fundamental weakness in Mr. Gorbachev's attempt to democratise the Soviet Union.

He reckoned that the Soviet leader had tried to "democratise society without democratising the structures in charge of all levels of that society."

In a major re-appraisal of socialism after the crisis of communism in Eastern Europe, Mr. Slovo stressed the need for democracy within the SACP as well as for South Africa.

"Democracy is not something we can take for granted, even in our party."

Referring to "knee-jerk" reactions to the present crisis in the Soviet Union and to threats to outlaw communist parties, Mr. Slovo warned that crimes were not only committed against democracy but also in the name of democracy.

Of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who played a critical role in thwarting the conspiracy by CPSU leaders to oust Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Slovo said: "Yeltsin can produce the pressures which can lead to more purposeful movement towards addressing the problems of the Soviet Union."

While Mr. Yeltsin's apparent espousal of Russian nationalism was not without danger in a heterogeneous society such as the Soviet Union, he championed positive forces, including pressure for decentralisation of power, political and economic and "continuous assault" on the slow pace of reform.

"Perhaps the only hope for some kind of stability in the Soviet Union is an accommodation between Gorbachev and Yeltsin," Mr. Slovo added.

Jeremy Cronin, a member of the SACP central committee, said of the past week's events in the Soviet Union: "It is a chapter in a crisis rather than a whole new set of events."

But the wider crisis, which embraced the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, was developing faster and more dramatically than observers had anticipated, he said.

"Another important observation from our point of view is that CPSU was unable to react meaningfully to events before, during and after the attempted coup.

"It failed to be a coherent force. It was unable to bring people out under the banner of the party against the coup."

Noting that the CPSU had a membership of about 16 million (out of a population of 300 million), he said: "Although it has a large membership, it hasn't got an

active, mobilised membership. If it is a paper tiger, then I would personally sympathise with what Gorbachev is trying to do: start again."

It would, he added, compel communists at home to come up with "more robust reasons for the existence of a communist party in South Africa" and to respond to assertions that it is an outdated "neolithic force" whose time had expired.

"I think the more alarming aspect is the scope that the crisis in the Soviet Union is giving to anti-democratic forces in our country, forces that sense blood."

He cited a leading article in *RAPPORT* urging President de Klerk never to allow communists to attain office at any level of government, thus negating the right of people to democratically choose one party above another.

IFP Youth Conference Resolutions Reported

MB2508140091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1321 GMT 25 Aug 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service: Issued by the Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Ulundi, on 25 August from the 12th Annual Conference of the Youth Brigade held from 23-25 August]

[Text] The following resolutions were passed today:

Resolution 1

We the youth of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] express support, loyalty and confidence in the historic visionary leadership of the president of the IFP Dr. M.G. Buthelezi, whose impeccable leadership record is measured by the phenomenal growth of the Youth Brigade of the IFP, the biggest cohesive youth movement the country has ever known, and resolve: 1.1 That the government's secret funds, used to fund the national gathering—Imbizo—of the 17th of November 1989, which was called to denounce violence that had plagued our land and to condemn sanctions imposed upon the people of South Africa, together with the second one which was held on the 25th March 1990, to give thanks to the Lord Almighty who had secured the release of Dr. Mandela and others and the unbanning of their organisations, for which the president of the IFP had campaigned and fought for many years were in fact used for honourable purposes about which we are not ashamed at all. 1.2 To condemn and deplore the actions of the government, which secretly and clandestinely funded the said rallies without prior knowledge of the Inkatha leadership structures.

Resolution 2

We dismiss and reject with contempt it deserves the inferences by the media that the IFP Youth Brigade undertook para-military training as hit squads to attack ANC [African National Congress] members, when the ANC had not even been unbanned at that time, and the

idea that we could depend on 150 young men to stand against the military might of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing] is preposterous in the extreme. Therefore we call upon the media in general and THE WEEKLY MAIL in particular to desist from fanning the fires of violence and devisive tactics against blacks.

Resolution 3

The Youth Brigade of the IFP notes with disgust and condemns the recruitment by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, of the young blood to cross the borders of South Africa with intent to undergo military training in the neighbouring countries.

We, therefore call upon Umkhonto we Sizwe to stop with immediate effect the recruitment of the youth of South Africa for military training, and that Umkhonto we Sizwe must disband with immediate effect; failing which the future peaceful negotiation may be prejudiced.

Resolution 4

It is with deep regret that the commitment of the ANC to honest and unqualified search for peace is in serious question in view of its ambivalence and double talk since its track record is fraught with contradictions such as: 4.1 The statement purported to have been made by the president of the ANC in Cuba recently, which in letter and spirit is not consistent with the IFP-ANC accord of the 29th January 1991; 4.2 The announcement by the secretary-general and the president of the ANC that they have chosen to talk to the government and not to the IFP because of the so called slush funding controversy, and to portray the IFP As being on the payroll of the government;

We therefore resolve to;

Call upon the ANC to come clean on the points raised above and to publicly denounce this new obstacle to reconciliation and future negotiations in order to purge our society of war-talk and violence.

Resolution 5

The IFP Youth Brigade commends and applauds the wise decision motivated by deep concern for the peaceful resolution of our country's problems by his majesty the king, and the president of the IFP, to send delegates to the conference convened by the State President Mr F.W. de Klerk on violence and intimidation on the 24-25th May 1991, and resolve to mandate the Inkatha leadership to send delegates to the national peace convention of September 14.

Resolution 6

The IFP Youth Brigade notes with scepticism the ANC's attempt to achieve what it could not secure by military means as a government in exile by attempting to usurp power from the National Party government through a constituent assembly to form an interim government;

It further notes that at no stage did the ANC ever call for a constituent assembly and an interim government in any documents or declarations in the past until it became an after thought as a means to entrench itself as the government in waiting.

The IFP Youth Brigade therefore resolves that;

The multi-party-conference be convened with immediate effect to determine and agree upon a political process that will be pursued to secure national consensus.

Resolution 7

The IFP Youth denounces the patriotic front on the ground that it is a cult which is sectarian in nature and content as an out of place make-shift tactic to gang up against other races and which breeds on fear and hatred. The patriotic front must be rejected and discouraged by all right thinking South Africans in the 1990's.

The IFP Youth Brigade therefore calls upon coloured, Indian and white compatriots to reject the patriotic front as a body with no place in negotiations.

Resolution 8

The IFP Youth Brigade abhors the satanic and barbaric behavior of the senior ANC authorities for the atrocities reported by the ANC's ex-prisoners who shared a platform with the IFP Youth Brigade at its annual conference held in Ulundi on the 23-24 and 25 instant. 1. The ANC ex-prisoners reported that they were dehumanised, raped, made to frog-march, tortured and that people were murdered at the Quatro-camps in Angola turned into concentration camps. 2. They were prevailed upon, not to disclose such atrocities by the ANC on the pretext that by-gones be by-gones.

The Youth Brigade of the IFP therefore resolve; 1. That the Red Cross be allowed to intervene and interview the ANC ex-prisoners and to give them the opportunity to tell South Africa what the ANC is, to its own people. 2. That the SACC [South African Council of Churches] must stop the holier-than-thou approach against the IFP by seeking visits to the so-called Mkhuze training camp only without them seeking to investigate the ANC's concentration camps. 3. That the South African Government is obliged to investigate allegations of crimes and torture committed against its own citizens, and therefore supports the ANC's ex-prisoners demand for a commission of enquiry to look into the cruel treatment they suffered at the hands of the ANC.

Buthelezi Remarks at Inkatha Youth Meeting Noted

MB2608183491 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From "The Africa South" program]

[Text] Nothing less than open negotiations on a new South African constitution and free elections under that

constitution will be accepted by the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]. Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi reaffirmed these principles at the opening of the annual congress of the Inkatha Freedom Party's youth in kwa-Zulu at the weekend. Dr. Buthelezi said the IFP would definitely be one of the three major forces in the negotiations which [words indistinct] the only alternative to conflict and violent confrontations in South Africa.

[Begin Buthelezi recording] We do not want even [words indistinct] conditions for a seizure of power which is on the agenda of some organizations. We will accept nothing other than open negotiations for the new constitution and there we can think about how we [words indistinct] to elect a new government-to-be under a new constitution. That is the way forward, comrades. [end recording]

NP Cancels Parys Meeting, Cites Confrontation

*MB2608143291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1345 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 26 SAPA—The National Party [NP] has cancelled a public meeting it was to have held in Parys on Monday [26 August] night, saying it had concluded chaos and confrontation would be inflicted by rightwing groupings, among others the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. The leader of the [Orange] Free State NP and minister of justice and correctional services, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in a statement on Monday afternoon that a particular effort had been made by local NP leaders and the Conservative Party to let the meeting run in an orderly way.

It now appeared, however, that "groups which are not political parties, among others the AWB, are not going to respect the arrangements reached between the National Party and the Conservative Party, and that, on the contrary, they are bent upon enforcing a procedure which can only lead to chaos and confrontation".

Mr Coetsee said reports indicated that rightwingers were going to attend the meeting in large numbers, also from the Transvaal. "This is totally and utterly contrary to the democratic process and is aimed at preventing political parties—through intimidatory actions—from communicating with voters."

The NP had taken note "with great responsibility" that a large number of its supporters and voters in Parys were elderly people. "Their safety could be at issue. Other people, again, fear for damage to their vehicles."

The minister of agriculture, Dr Kraai van Niekerk, would have addressed the meeting. Mr Coetsee said that in the circumstances he, as Free State leader of the NP, had decided to postpone the meeting. It would now be held on a date and place to be announced by the NP. He and Dr van Niekerk would address this meeting.

The National Party presented the opportunity for all parties in South Africa to put their viewpoints in public, free of intimidation, but also demanded for itself this right. He "respectfully apologised" to the inhabitants of Parys and vicinity for the inconvenience done to them, "but I believe this decision is in their best interest".

A senior AWB spokesman, "General" Con Stucki, asked for reaction, said the AWB had instructed its supporters to behave themselves decently, and "only ask questions". NP leaders and the police had been aware of these instructions. All weapons would have been placed in a vehicle for safekeeping. "It appears from the NP's fears that the AWB cannot just be written off." The AWB's top leadership structure had in any case not intended attending the meeting, Mr Stucki said.

CP, ANC React to Constitutional Proposals

*MB2608180291 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1600 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] The Conservative Party [CP] has described the National Party's [NP] draft proposals for a new constitution as a recipe for black domination and suppression of whites. The leader of the CP, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement it was clear that the principles pointed to a black majority government because it boiled down to a one-man-one-vote system with no protection of the rights and interests of ethnic groups. He said that the NP was trying to coerce all groups in South Africa into an artificial unity state. Dr. Treurnicht said that it was ironic that while the Soviet Union was banning the Communist Party in that country the NP wanted to accommodate the South African Communist Party and its alliances and equip them with decisive powers.

The Democratic Party says it welcomes the fact that the National Party now apparently supports a federal form of government. The leader of the party, Dr. Zach de Beer, said that there was unanimity among political parties and extra-parliamentary movements about the principal of proportional representation. He said his party also welcomed the fact that proportional representation would be implemented up to cabinet level.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP—Reformed National Party] says that the draft proposals are in essence merely a qualified one-man-one-vote system which would serve as a transition to a simple black majority government. The leader of the HNP, Mr. Jaap Marais, said that the proposals which ignored ethnicity were a recipe for friction and conflict. He said that the proposals would serve only to heighten the political uncertainty and instability in South Africa.

The ANC said the proposals were merely an extension of apartheid and broke no new ground. It said the proposed federal structure was clumsy and denied people their democratic rights. It said the proposals should be seen only as a point of departure for constitutional negotiations. [passage omitted]

Inkatha Agreement To Ban on Weapons Viewed

*MB2508115891 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 25 Aug 91 SUNDAY TIMES EXTRA
Supplement p 1*

[By Edyth Bulbring]

[Text] The Inkatha Freedom Party has agreed to ban dangerous weapons at political gatherings following an eleventh-hour breakthrough at a meeting to finalise amendments to a draft national peace accord.

Participants in the peace process said yesterday Inkatha's agreement to a ban on the possession, carrying and display of dangerous weapons at political gatherings and processions had been unthinkable a week ago.

However, a meeting of the working group on a code of conduct for security forces on Wednesday made progress on the issue following compromises on all sides.

An earlier draft accord had laid down detailed conditions to the carrying of weapons and the holding of meetings. However, in the latest draft accord accepted at the weekend, only the principle was accepted and all the detail was scrapped.

Although the questions of the implementation of this ban and definitions of terms needed to be thrashed out, participants were confident progress would be made before the September 14 peace conference.

A wide range of political parties will meet on this date to amend and endorse the draft peace document negotiated by the ANC [African National Congress], Inkatha and the government.

Participants in the process said changes made to the document by the other political parties were expected to be minor.

But they were not optimistic over the attendance of right-wing parties, such as the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], CP [Conservative Party] and HNP [Reformed National Party].

This had become even more unlikely since the events at Ventersdorp, participants said.

The draft accord sets out, among other things:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society.
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels.

The contents of the draft peace accord, the details of which were disclosed by the SUNDAY TIMES last week,

underwent minor changes following final meetings of the working committees this week.

One of the main changes was that whereas the earlier draft had stipulated that members of Inkatha, the government and the ANC would be represented on all the major peace structures, the new draft does not mention specific parties.

Air Force Unveils Improved Dakota Aircraft

*MB2608184891 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1600 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] The first Dakota upgraded by the South African Air Force for better performance and a longer service life has been unveiled in Pretoria. The Super Dakota, which was shown to military correspondents today, has been improved to take a thousand kilograms more cargo, flies 80 kilometers an hour faster, and has a 400-kilometer longer cruising range than the original.

Most of the conversion was carried out by the Air Force itself. An upgraded maritime version of the Dakota is being planned which will make the Air Force more effective in search and rescue operations.

ANC Activist To Sue Minister Vlok Over 'Bug'

*MB2308152491 Johannesburg SABA in English
1512 GMT 23 Aug 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Aug 23 SABA—ANC [African National Congress] activist and key Operation Vula operative Mr Pravin Gordhan and his wife Vanitha are suing Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for R[and]250,000 for general damages after a listening device or "bug" was found in the ceiling of a bedroom in his Durban home.

At a press conference called at his flat in Sydenham on Friday, Mr Gordhan explained that during early June this year, a confirmed policeman, Sgt Dennis Narain, rented an adjoining unit under false pretenses.

A few weeks later, Mr Gordhan noticed a crack in the ceiling of his study, and on investigating, found that access had been gained to his ceiling from the adjoining flat.

He later found the listening device, a drill bit and a hole in his main bedroom where another listening device could have been placed.

After investigating the adjacent unit—which Sgt Narain had hurriedly evacuated—Mr Gordhan found a makeshift ladder used for access to the ceiling and an electric socket which had been tampered with to allow for listening to sounds from a room in the adjoining unit.

Other evidence in Sgt Narain's flat (he called himself Dan) included a telephone number which traced him to the SA [South African] Police.

Col I. Boshoff, regional head of the Criminal Combatting Investigation Service (formerly the Security Branch), has confirmed that Sgt Narain works in his department, but refused to disclose the nature of his work.

Mr Gordhan said on Friday he had decided to expose the bugging operation as a warning to other activists.

"This also reinforces the ANC's demand for an interim government so that police action can come under joint control," he said.

Mrs Gordhan, who said she was "terrified" after discovering what was going on next door, explained that she had seen Sgt Narain on several occasions, but had thought he was a student.

Meanwhile, Mr Gordhan's attorney has issued the minister of law and order and the commissioner of police with a letter claiming R125,000 each for Mr and Mrs Gordhan for "serious injury to our clients' dignity, our clients' sense of self esteem, and our clients' right to privacy".

ANC secretary for southern Natal, Mr S'bu Ndebele, said at the press conference that covert operations such as those against the Gordhans "give room to suspicion that homes and offices of our activists throughout the country are bugged".

The ANC demanded that all tapping of telephones, the "bugging" of homes and offices and infiltration of informers into democratic organisations be stopped immediately, he said.

To this effect, his organisation was going to take up this issue with Deputy Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer when he begins his duties as minister of law and order.

Joint Statement on De Klerk, Holomisa Meeting

MB2608181091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1803 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Pretoria Aug 26 SAPA—Relations between South Africa and Transkei warmed considerably on Monday [26 August] following a meeting between State President F W de Klerk and the homeland's ruler, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa. A joint statement released after the talks in Pretoria said "consensus was reached on the need to promote friendly relations between South Africa and Transkei based on mutual respect".

An agreement was also signed by Gen Holomisa and Foreign Minister Pik Botha which "paves the way for more effective financial and economic co-operation between the two countries".

"Both agreed that we should endeavour to establish and respect problem solving mechanisms. A number of areas were identified which would be the subject of consideration by joint committees."

Gen Holomisa was also thanked by Mr de Klerk for his cooperation in the successful rescue operation when the Oceanos cruise liner sank.

26 Aug Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB2608132491

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

Peace Accord Offers Hope—"The real significance of a national peace accord goes beyond the urgent need to save lives. It could form the foundation for multiparty talks on transforming South Africa from a white minority system to a broad nonracial democracy," writes Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 25 August in its page 10 editorial. "While the march to democracy seems unstoppable, the abortive coup in the Soviet Union this week should remind all parties in South Africa to be on their guard against hardline elements on all sides who might want to sabotage the process." The proposed police ombudsman and police board are good concepts. "At the same time the draft accord prohibits politically aligned self-protection units which amount, in effect, to private armies. The ANC will have a key responsibility to ensure that self-defence units legitimately set up in the townships to protect people from crime and attack are not really a cover for new Umkhonto we Sizwe militias." "If the far Right insists on staying out of peace accords while strutting around heavily armed, the case for a legal crackdown on these rogue commandos will be strengthened. To make the peace plan work effectively, peaceful democrats should not be afraid to purge those who aim to sabotage the accord."

THE CITIZEN

Criticism of Gasoline Price Increase—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 23 August in its page 6 editorial commends Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' reduction of value added tax, VAT, rate from 12 to 10 percent. But, "not so pleasing is his decision to compensate for some of the loss by putting up the price of petrol." "The trouble with petrol increases is that they have a ripple effect throughout the economy. Thus, because transport costs rise, industrialists, businessmen and farmers charge more. Other goods and services will also cost more—and VAT will be added. Thus, the man in the street is no better off."

THE STAR

Greater Agreement Between National Party, ANC—"Major points of convergence between the National Party and the African National Congress [ANC] on South Africa's future are solidifying," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 26 August. "They augur well for a political settlement in the next year or so." "There is agreement on universal adult suffrage, proportional representation, a justiciable bill of rights and an independent judiciary. Although there are

still differences on what the balance of power should be between central, regional and local government, and on what powers of veto or delay should be invested in a second or upper chamber, they do not appear to be insuperable." At a recent conference at Cambridge University of British and South African politicians and analysts, the ANC's Thabo Mbeki "remarked on a narrowing of differences on the vital economic front. He cited a speech by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, in which he detected a greater willingness by the authorities to acknowledge the need for some State intervention to help address the imbalances inherited from the apartheid era."

BUSINESS DAY

Well Structured Labor Relationships Needed To Avoid Conflict—The industrial action over the past 10 days at Impala Platinum's mines in Bophuthatswana and at Gold Fields' Doornfontein gold mine in the western Transvaal "carries with it an important lesson in labour relations for the modern South Africa," warns a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 26 August. It is that "avoiding trade unions rather than engaging with them is of significantly less value than it might have been a decade ago. In Impala's case, the absence of a proper relationship with an organised union such as the National Union of Mineworkers is because the homeland's government has banned South African unions from operating there." "Well-structured labour relationships do not eliminate conflict, but they help manage it, and must help promote economic growth. That is surely the best way forward."

SOWETAN

Optimism Over Government's Constitutional Proposals—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 26 August in its page 6 editorial says "the veil was lifted this past weekend over the sort of proposals which the National Party will be taking to a constitutional conference." "It is pretty certain that whatever comes out of the talks will be heavily influenced by the Government's thinking. And, at first study, these proposals do not seem to be wildly different from some of the plans for the future of the other major negotiation element, the ANC." "On the basis of what we know now, we would think there's room for considerable optimism. Judging from these plans, the National Party has finally ditched all the old principles of apartheid, insisting only that in the future country no one group is able to dominate another entirely."

27 Aug Press Review

MB2708121391

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Optimism Over NP Draft Constitution—"The crux of the National Party's [NP] new constitutional plan" "lies

in the composition of a proposed 'upper house' in a bicameral legislature," begins a page 22 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 27 August. "It seems clear from the NP's draft proposals that minority groups will not be represented as such—that is, not in racial terms—but rather through political parties. It appears the NP would like to divide the country into nine regions" and each of these "would be given an equal number of seats in the upper house. In turn, all parties enjoying more than a minimum percentage of support in a region would qualify for an equal number of the seats allocated to that region. The effect would obviously be that minority parties would enjoy the same power in this upper house as the majority party." The NP's draft constitutional plan is "encouraging" because it "seems to herald the beginnings of real negotiations about real issues—not 'obstacles'—in the 'talks about talks' phase."

BUSINESS DAY

NP Draft Constitutional Proposals Welcome—Referring to the draft NP constitutional proposals, Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 27 August says in a page 8 editorial "from detail available so far, it appears the NP has abandoned its pipedream of racial representation in one or other part of the legislature." The NP has produced a constitution "designed to ease the fears of minority parties." "The creation of nine new 'states'—based presumably on the country's nine development regions—would be merely to facilitate the decentralisation of power. Elsewhere in the world—the U.S., Germany and Switzerland—federal systems came into being as a way of uniting into a single nation pre-existing collection of states with their own cultures, traditions and government systems. That is not the NP's motivation. The creation of such regional governments carries little advantage and could cause the same proliferation of bureaucracies as seen under apartheid. Devolution of power away from the centre remains highly desirable. But some other, less artificial, system is required." "In general, though, by preparing these proposals, the NP is helping South Africans begin the complex nitty gritty debate on which a credible future constitution depends. The opportunity should be grasped by all concerned."

SOWETAN

Crime Rages Through Country—"In townships and suburbs around the country the crime wave rages ahead," states a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 27 August. "In Springs the taxi drivers are at each other's throats again. At Vista University's Soweto campus yesterday there were violent confrontations between the police and students. None of this gives the impression of a country at the crossroads of political change which should, after all these years, transfer power into the hands of the majority. This, instead, is a picture of a country at war with itself."

Angola

UNITA Protests Soviet-Made Military Equipment

MB2708100691 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] A verification group discovered a consignment of military equipment had been unloaded at Luanda Harbor on 25 August. This is a serious violation of the Angolan peace accords.

That military equipment includes one Soviet-made BTR-152 assault car, 16 Soviet-made Ural military vehicles, and 43 converted Bedford military vehicles. That equipment was forcibly removed from Luanda Harbor by the the Presidential Regiment of the People's Republic of Angola, RPA. After threatening the officers in the Luanda Harbor Verification Group, Teixeira, the officer in charge of the Presidential Regiment ordered the illegal removal of that military equipment from Luanda. That equipment was unloaded from [name indistinct], presumably a Dutch ship.

On 26 August, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, team presented a protest against the RPA and the USSR to the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, regarding that serious incident. The UNITA delegation demands that all that military equipment be returned to the USSR, the sender, under UN supervision.

UNITA has also protested the arrival of another Dutch ship carrying military equipment on 25 August. That military equipment included 14 Polish-made IFA military vehicles.

FAPLA Said Moving Army Equipment to Namibia

MB2708103291 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Americo Paulino, Vorgan [Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel] correspondent in Cunene Province, reports that FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] officers based in Cahama and (Humbi) are moving some 20 military trucks from Angola's Cunene Province to the Republic of Namibia. Those trucks are carrying military equipment twice a week. The reasons for this operation are not yet known, particularly at a time when such equipment should be put away in warehouses under Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] supervision.

Americo Paulino also reports that the FAPLA forces have hidden BM-21, BM-24, and BM-14 self-propelled artillery weapons, as well as three Soviet-made tanks west of Lecumba mountain, approximately a kilometer from the first houses in the Jamba-Catruca village.

Official Denies Lethal War Materiel Received

MB2708102091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, met in Luanda yesterday. Among other issues, it discussed the troop confinement process and UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] claim that the Angolan Government violated the peace accords by receiving war materiel at Luanda harbor on 25 and 26 August.

Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Neto, an Angolan Government representative within the CCPM, told the media after the meeting that what was unloaded at Luanda harbor was not lethal equipment and that the Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF, would continue discussing that issue.

[Begin Neto recording] The methodology is made clear in the accords and regulations. Yes, there are certain loopholes regarding practical implementation. This is all a new experience. There are many troops moving about. In UNITA's case, those troops do not have transportation. In our case, there is a movement of armored and other technical units. All of that has helped render the process difficult. It seemed easy in theory and on paper. In practice, we are coming up against difficulties, and of course there will be many more. We know that certain units will be confined to distant areas where the mine removal process is still under way. We know we may have transportation problems because it is not always possible to move large quantities of supplies unless we use vehicles for transportation.

Nonetheless, we think that it should be up to FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] to keep their own units supplied, wherever they may be. Detailed issues will be resolved in the spirit of harmony that should exist between the two sides. [end recording]

Botswana

President Masire Returns From SADCC Summit

MB2708083391 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 0510 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The president, Dr. Quett Masire, arrived back home last night from Arusha, Tanzania, where he attended the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] heads of state and government summit meeting. President Masire is the chairman of the SADCC grouping.

The president was welcomed by the minister of health, Mr. Kebatlamang Morake, who has been acting president, cabinet ministers, members of parliament, and senior government officials. President Masire was accompanied by the assistant minister of agriculture, Mr. Geophrey Oteng. The president is scheduled to officially open the Gaborone International Fair tomorrow.

Madagascar

Razanamasy Given 'Full Power' To Form Government

AB2308202591 Paris AFP in English 0818 GMT
23 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 23 (AFP)—Madagascar's new prime minister, Guy Razanamasy, said he has been authorized by President Didier Ratsiraka to choose his own government, after a two-month street protest against the head of state.

"I was given full power to set up and direct the republican administration towards democracy," he said in a statement published Friday [23 August] in the Malagasy press. "I will present the new government very shortly after a final round of consultations," the statement said. Informed sources said it would include both civilians and military.

A presidential aide said the head of state would hold on to his constitutional duties, remaining notably in charge of the country's defense and foreign policies. The big change involves allowing the prime minister to freely choose his own ministers and run the government within the constitutional framework, he said.

The prime minister appealed to all residents and business sectors to resume work to get the nation back on its feet again, after two months of street protests to try to force Admiral Ratsiraka to step down. Thousands of demonstrators had thronged the center of the Madagascar capital again Thursday in response to calls by opposition parties.

"I ask all Malagasies to help me," Razanamasy said Friday, though he said he could not promise "miracles."

A coalition of opposition parties said at the start of the week that it had "deposed" the president, after his guards killed at least 31 people when 400,000 unarmed demonstrators paraded in a "freedom march" towards his official residence 12 days ago.

The president has ignored the opposition's move however and this week renewed the state of emergency for a further 15 days, the maximum period permitted by law.

Announces New Cabinet

AB2608160091 Paris AFP in English 1330 GMT
26 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 26 (AFP)—Madagascar's beleaguered leadership announced a new government on Monday in what Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy likened to a "suicide mission" to end 11 weeks of opposition protests and strikes. Opposition leaders spurned Razanamasy's offers to join the government, whose 24 members include no representatives of the opposition coalition which has staged strikes and almost daily mass demonstrations against the rule of embattled President Didier Ratsiraka, in power for 16 years.

The Indian Ocean nation of Madagascar, the world's fourth biggest island, has been without a government since July. Strikes have brought its economy to a standstill while the unrest has scared away tourists.

Banks and the international airport were open on Monday, however, suggesting that support was waning for the general strike which the opposition has vowed to continue "until Ratsiraka falls".

The 16-party opposition coalition Hery Velona, or Lifeblood Committee, has claimed to have "deposed" Ratsiraka. But so far it has proved unable to oust the 55-year-old former naval officer, who remains holed up in his palace a few miles (kilometres) south of the capital, protected by his North Korean-trained guards, who killed 31 unarmed demonstrators two weeks ago.

Presenting his new administration at government house here, Razanamasy, appointed by the president more than two weeks ago, said the task that lay ahead would be more like "a suicide mission than a triumph".

Hopes of a breakthrough that would end Madagascar's political impasse faded last week after talks between Razanamasy and the opposition broke down.

Two small opposition parties outside the Lifeblood Committee got one portfolio each, while military officers were named as interior minister and minister for the armed forces.

Razanamasy urged his "brothers and sisters of the opposition" not to "stick to their guns at the cost of undermining the common cause." He told journalists that he would like nothing better than to share power with the opposition.

In his presentation speech, Razanamasy never once mentioned the president, whose power seems to have been eroded since the "Bloody Saturday" killings. He pledged to restore calm and lead Madagascar along "the tortuous and difficult paths of democracy".

Razanamasy says the president has given him authority to form and lead a new government. But the opposition reproached him for not taking over completely from Ratsiraka.

Names Ministers, Assistant Ministers

AB2708104591 Paris AFP in English 2332 GMT
26 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 26 (AFP)—Madagascar's Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy announced a new government on Monday [26 August]. The line-up was:

Foreign minister: Cesaire Rabenoro
Justice minister: Armand Rajaonarivelo
Interior minister: Colonel Charles Rabotoarison
Finance minister: Jean-Marie Henri
Education minister: Michel Razafindrandriantsimaniry
Minister for the armed forces: General Jean Ravelomitsanga
Public works minister: Max Rakoto Andriantsilavo

Social affairs minister: Joseph Rakotova
Labour minister: Jules Mananjara
Culture minister: Henri Ramiliarison
Transport and meteorology minister: Aime Rakotondrainibe
Telecommunications minister: Mananjara (one name)
Minister of state for rural development: Andre Resampa
Minister of state for decentralisation: Jean-Baptiste Ramanantsalaina
Minister of state for industry and mining: Jean-Jacques Rakotonaiaina

Assistant ministers:

Agricultural production: Claude Andreas
Livestock and fisheries: Tsiaelatra (one name)
Industry and crafts: Salim Jailany
Environment, water and forestry: Etsifosaine (one name)
Urban development and tourism: Mamy Rajaobelina
Security: Ferdinand Ranafikely
Higher and basic education: Jacquit Simon
Youth and sports: Auguste Paraina
Energy: Roger Vony

Opposition Refuses To Cooperate

AB2408155091 Paris AFP in English 1450 GMT
24 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Antananarivo, Aug 24 (AFP)—Madagascar's opposition movement refused Saturday [24 August] to cooperate with Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy and vowed to press on with a general strike "until total power is taken."

The Lifeblood Committee spokesman Richard Andriamanjato told thousands of supporters who gathered at May 13th Square in the capital that "until total power is taken, the general strike continues."

Andriamanjato's firm tone was in stark contrast to his appeals Thursday for "dialogue" and received a much warmer reception from his audience.

A meeting earlier Saturday between the opposition leaders and Razanamasy was inconclusive, a source here said. For several days, the prime minister, the opposition, the army and church leaders have held discussions aimed at reaching a compromise on the political future of the Indian Ocean island republic.

But the Lifeblood Committee criticized Razanamasy on Saturday for not having got full powers from President Didier Ratsiraka.

"Even though this government is not yet formed, it's already trembling on its foundations," said Andriamanjato. [passage omitted]

Saturday's refusal by the Lifeblood Committee to participate in Razanamasy's new government, whenever it is announced, does not leave the new prime minister much scope for maneuver, observers here said.

Airport, Banks Reportedly Closed

AB2708101591 Paris AFP in English 0851 GMT
27 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 27 (AFP)—Madagascar's international airport and banks here were closed Tuesday following a strike call by opposition leaders. Tens of thousands of people were seen gathering at several points in the capital ahead of an anti-government rally in a downtown square.

The demonstration has been called to protest against the formation of a new government on Monday by Madagascar's beleaguered prime minister, Guy Razanamasy.

The opposition, which has staged 11 weeks of almost daily anti-government protests and strikes, refused to participate in the Razanamasy administration. The government meanwhile shortened the curfew in place on the island. The curfew now runs from midnight to 4:00 A.M. It began previously at 9:00 P.M.

Censorship has also been lifted and national radio began broadcasts from its new headquarters. For the past month, the radio had been broadcasting from the presidential palace of embattled military ruler Didier Ratsiraka, who has been in power for 16 years.

The 16-party opposition coalition Hery Velona, or Lifeblood Committee, has claimed to have "deposed" Ratsiraka. But so far it has proved unable to oust the 55-year-old former naval officer, who remains holed up in his palace a few miles (kilometres) south of the capital, protected by his North Korean-trained guards, who killed 31 unarmed demonstrators two weeks ago.

Malawi

Zimbabwe President Begins 2-Day Official Visit

MB2408173491 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] The president of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, arrived in the country today for a two-day official visit. On arrival at Chileka Airport, President Mugabe was met by his excellency the life president, Ngwazi [eagle] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, and thousands upon thousands of Malawians who included members of the Central Executive Committee of the Malawi Congress Party, cabinet ministers, and civic leaders. President Mugabe leaves the country tomorrow at 12:30 [1030 GMT] in the afternoon and he will be seen off by the life president.

Departs for Tanzania 25 Aug

MB2508165091 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] His excellency the life president, Ngwazi [eagle] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, said today that it is his wish that relations between Malawi and Zimbabwe be further strengthened. The life president was speaking at Sanjika

Palace in Blantyre when the president of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, called on him to take leave of the Ngwazi at the end of his 2-day visit to Malawi.

The life president said he would like to see the two countries cooperate in so many fields as possible, including transport sector. He observed that transport was very important to the economy of the two countries.

Speaking earlier, President Mugabe commended the brotherly relations that exist between Zimbabwe and Malawi. President Mugabe also agreed with the life president that transport was vital to the economy of the two countries, because, he said, there should be a regular system of exchange of goods, particularly through Tete Corridor. He expressed the hope that talks between Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] would be successful and peace restored so as to make the routes through Tete passable and also to bring peace in the region.

President Mugabe has since left Malawi for Tanzania where he will attend a Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference. He was seen off at Chileka Airport in Blantyre by his excellency the life president and thousands of people who included party and civic leaders and members of the diplomatic corps.

Mozambique

Central Committee Has 51 Percent 'New Blood'

MB2408132191 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Report by Orlanda Mendes]

[Text] The Sixth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Congress wound up yesterday after 11 days. It had been announced as the congress for change. Lengthy behind doors discussions led to the approval of the party's new statutes and program. Toward the end, the Sixth Congress also elected the new Central Committee. What is new about it?

There are some significant changes to the new Central Committee announced last night. Novelties began with the candidacy and voting procedures. A total of 160 full and 16 candidate members were elected. They emerged from a general list of 422 militants who had been proposed in different ways, many by the Political Bureau, others by the provincial (?governments), others yet by groups of militants, and some submitted their own candidacies. According to what was said during the Congress, these innovations were intended to ensure wider Central Committee membership by means of a more democratic process, as well as to guarantee minimum representation to each province, including Maputo City, to the economic and social sectors, and to the women.

Despite the fact that these were not Frelimo's traditional methods, groups of militants submitted more than 40

candidacies and more than 40 candidates submitted their own. For the first time ever, the ballot was direct, secret, and personal. Let me open an aside here to add that this caused some delays and technical difficulties. As someone else put it, this business of democracy is far more complex. To simply raise a card or clap one's hands was far quicker.

Let us return, however, to the changes we have been talking about. Sources in the Congress told us that all members of the outgoing Central Committee were candidates, unless they decided not to submit their candidacies. This helps explain why some well known names were absent from the lists, notably Marcelino dos Santos, Jose Luis Cabaco, and Manuel dos Santos. We have learned that their names were absent because, in accordance with the renewal process they defend, they found that the time had come for others to replace them.

In the case of Marcelino dos Santos though, some congress delegates said that he was too historic a figure to make such a choice on his own, so Marcelino dos Santos agreed to a candidacy. Another well known name absent from the list was that of Jose Oscar Monteiro, who was a member of the outgoing Central Committee, because of health reasons according to reliable sources.

Generals Antonio Hama Thai and Tobias Dai were other members of the Central Committee who did not feature on the list of candidates, apparently because they are still active in the military service.

If this was the congress of change, and if the aim was to mix continuity with renewal in the leading organs, what results were achieved? An analysis of the new Central Committee will show that 51 percent is new blood. Furthermore, there is a far higher percentage of women, who had only occupied 15 percent of places in the outgoing Central Committee. Though the minimum percentage of women in the new Central Committee had been set at 25 percent, to the surprise of many they now make up 36 percent of the new Central Committee.

Though we cannot make comparisons in terms of academic qualifications, some 27 percent of new Central Committee members either have university degrees or some higher education training.

Nonetheless, attention is now on the Central Committee's upcoming election of the secretary general, the Political Commission—the new name for the Political Bureau—secretariat, and the Verification Commission. The newly created post of secretary general appears to be the source of much curiosity. It is understood that the secretary general will bear much of the responsibility for the functioning of the ruling party's machinery. There was intensive electoral lobbying for the Central Committee. Can you imagine how much lobbying there will be for those organs yet to be elected?

Namibia

Nujoma Returns From SADCC Summit in Tanzania

MB2608195891 Windhoek Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] President Sam Nujoma returned to Windhoek late this afternoon after attending the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] summit in Arusha, Tanzania. President Nujoma said on his arrival at Eros airport that he returned before the end of the summit because he wanted to celebrate Heroes Day with the people of Namibia. He said the SADCC heads of state had approved Namibia's intention to build a new harbor.

The President declined to comment on the planned new port but promised more details later. He said the summit had also reviewed the planned trans-Caprivi and trans-Kalahari highway. The president's delegation was scheduled to return to Namibia tomorrow.

Swaziland

Finance Minister on Local BCCI Operation

MB2508100091 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND SUNDAY in English 25 Aug 91 p 3

[By Hanson Ngwenya]

[Text] The Bank of Credit Commerce International (BCCI) has created a bad name for itself in many countries because of corruption, bribery and money laundering.

But soon after the BCCI scandal which threatened many of the bank's branches elsewhere, the minister for Finance Mr. Sibusiso Dlamini ordered the Central Bank to take over BCCI in Swaziland to protect the interest of depositors.

But, with a murky international reputation, people in Swaziland would be very interested to know if any of what the bank was accused of in other countries, were practised in Swaziland.

Asked about this, the minister for Finance said Swaziland was saved from many problems because here, public funds are controlled by the Finance and Audit Act, and regularly checked by the Accountant General and the Auditor General.

"In the last instance, these two individuals are answerable to Parliament for the proof that public funds have been properly spent.

"This protects tax-payers from theft and misuse of their money. I am happy that our system works in this way," he said.

Mr. Dlamini also said that since the Central Bank has taken over BCCI, the bank will continue full and normal operations without interruptions. Depositors can have full confidence that their money is secure.

"In addition to that the Central Bank is guaranteeing the contractual rights of the staff of BCCI (Swaziland) which gives them protection," he said.

He said like all other financial institutions operating in Swaziland, BCCI was required to present its financial books in terms of the Financial Institutions Order.

Mr. Dlamini also said though the BCCI has a bad reputation in other countries, the Swaziland government is confident that the bank in Swaziland has a strong future.

"BCCI (Swaziland) is monitored and supervised by the Banking Supervision Department of the Central bank," he said.

Some governments in several parts of the world have been accused of using the bank for their own ends.

Zambia

International Observers Comment on Multiparty Elections

MB2608120291 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1125 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Lusaka, Aug 26 SAPA—International observers in Zambia to assess the country's first multi-party elections, have identified several problems—including the late release of the election date and government funding of the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP). In a statement released in Lusaka on Sunday, the American-based Carter Centre said the Zambian Government would have to do more to gain international credibility.

The team of observers, sponsored by the Carter Centre and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, consisted of Swedish MP Maria Leissner, Benin presidential candidate and National Assembly Deputy Albert Tevoedjre, and Canadian Chief Electoral Officer Ronald Gould.

They were in Zambia to assess the country's first multi-party elections, which the government promised to hold in October. In their statement the three said however: "The new constitution and the new election law have not yet been made public and the election date is still to be announced."

They also said there were widespread complaints about the problems of getting advertisements published, and unbalanced news coverage by the state-owned media.

The group had consulted a broad spectrum of Zambian society, including churches, professional organisations, election commission officials, business representatives, the government and student representatives.

On whether the elections would be free and fair, the observers said the Zambian Government had been accused of "fraudulent manipulation of elections" before the first vote had been cast.

Ghana

Rawlings on Elections, Maintains Ban on Parties

AB2608221791 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Texts] The leader of the revolution, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, has charged members of the Consultative Assembly to come out with a constitution that ensures probity and accountability and avoids the injustices of the past. Inaugurating the Assembly in Accra today, Chairman Rawlings also gave a hint of the timetable that may be followed on the journey toward constitutional rule. If the Consultative Assembly should complete its work within the estimated time, a referendum will be held next January, or, at the latest, February, to enable Ghanaians to decide whether to give their seal of approval on the efforts of the assembly. Teye Kitcher reports:

[Begin recording] [Kitcher] Chairman Rawlings told members of the Consultative Assembly that the exercise which they are beginning represents the final stages of the processes which are phasing out the provisional structures in order to ensure the continuity of the advances which have been made. The Consultative Assembly therefore is the next logical step in the process which began on 31 December 1981. He assured Ghanaians that the march toward democratic rule is not a return to some previous order of mystery that was far removed from the ordinary man.

Chairman Rawlings said within two weeks of the outcome of the referendum, based on the work of the Consultative Assembly, appropriate legislation will be enacted on issues such as representation of the people and political organizations. According to the leader of the revolution, with the mandate of the people and under the new constitution, presidential and parliamentary elections will be held by the last quarter of 1992 at the latest, to which international observers will be invited. The chairman urged members of the Consultative Assembly not to conduct their business in a partisan manner. He restated that there will be no lifting of the ban on party political activities while the Consultative Assembly is engaged on its task. To do so, he said, would be an insult to the members of the Assembly, who must first debate the rules for the conduct of political activities and the formation of political organizations. In the view of Chairman Rawlings, the constitution-making process in Ghana arises out of the nation's own circumstances of struggle.

[Rawlings] As a government, we are more interested in a constitution which provides for and guarantees freedom, justice, peace, and stability for our people, as opposed to some constitutions that seek to provide for the peace and stability of a government. Fellow Ghanaians, unless this constitution is somehow different in character from those which have gone before, and unless it manages to capture some of the imponderables which make such a

document unique to the people, we run the danger of finding ourselves back to where we began.

Ladies and Gentlemen: A constitution is only alive if it is borne up by probity and accountability. Probity and accountability are only alive if they are borne by truth and integrity. Truth and integrity can only become a weapon to defend the honor and well-being of a nation when that weapon is held by both the rulers and the ruled. In the hands of only one of them, it becomes a dagger turned against those who hold it. The most basic of the foundations for a good constitution in human society is a commitment to truth and to integrity in human relationships. Where truth is no longer valued, where the sense of truth-telling as a virtue is no longer a firm baseline for social conduct, then the very fabric of society is in jeopardy, constitution or no constitution. And especially, from those whose hand society entrusts certain responsibilities, we must expect adherence to this baseline, otherwise the trust simple men and women of integrity repose in their leaders, the faith of ordinary people in those who rule over them can soon turn into a noose around our people's necks.

[Kitcher] Chairman Rawlings said it is the view of the government that the constitution need not be an excessively detailed and cumbersome document. Where this is so, he said, the important principles tend to be obscured, so that the ordinary citizens lose sight of the essence of the constitution.

Chairman Rawlings expressed the hope that the Consultative Assembly will deliberate on further measures that will give women in Ghana, equality of opportunity, and equal participation in social and political decisionmaking. Related to this are the rights of children to responsible parenthood.

The speaker of the Assembly, the Chana Pio [paramount chief of Chana], Pe Roland Ayajitam, said it is the expectation of the Assembly to come out with a good work. He promised to conduct the affairs of the Assembly without fear or favor. The Chana Pio thanked the government and the people of Ghana for the trust reposed in the members of the Assembly. He pledged that the house will give the country a sound and workable basic law that will stand the test of time. [end recording]

Earlier in the day, the speaker and members of the Assembly were sworn in. The chief justice, Mr. Justice P.E.N.K. Archer, swore in the speaker, who in turn swore in the members, the clerk, and his deputy.

Opposition Criticizes Draft Constitution

AB2608103091 Paris AFP in French 2014 GMT
24 Aug 91

[Text] Accra, 24 Aug (AFP)—A Ghanaian opposition group said at a press conference today that the draft constitution presented by the commission of experts

would lead to a "still-born and too expensive constitution that would bear the seeds of the next coup d'etat." Alhaji Mohamed Fall, spokesman of the Interim Steering Committee of Our Heritage which, along with many other opposition groups, claims to be close to first president Kwame Nkrumah and which includes within its ranks former ministers as well as former Ghanaian president Hilla Limann, who was deposed by Jerry Rawlings in 1981, said that the draft included "too many conflicting elements that would render any elected government totally impotent and powerless."

The draft constitution submitted by the commission of experts and which is to be discussed on 26 August by the Consultative Assembly in charge of writing the Constitution, "contains conflicting and dead-end elements" that Ghana cannot assume, he added.

According to the Commission of Experts, the draft constitution proposes a dual executive with a president elected by universal suffrage and the appointment of a prime minister, a parliament, and a state council. It provides for a multiparty system, basic liberties, and an independent judiciary. Ghana is governed by decree since Captain Jerry Rawlings came to power.

Mr. Fall reiterated the call for the release of political prisoners and a general amnesty, as well as a lifting of the ban on political parties. He also criticized the economic recovery plan proposed by the International Monetary Fund. He said his movement would become a political party as soon as the ban on political parties is lifted.

Guinea

Cuban Foreign Minister Ends Visit, Signs Document

*AB2508124091 Conakry Radiodiffusion-Television
Guinean Radio Network in French 1945 GMT
24 Aug 91*

[Text] The visiting Cuban foreign minister is still in our midst. Isidoro Malmierca Peoli is on a working visit to our country. Yesterday, he toured the Township of Solidarity at Ngandai, and in the course of today the Cuban foreign minister held consultations with several government personalities before signing this afternoon a final document on his visit to Guinea. This, naturally, took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and all that was eagerly followed by our reporter Abdoulaye Ben Badi.

[Begin recording] Several meetings were held today between the Cuban Government delegation, led by Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, and members of the Guinean Government. At each of these meetings, the idea was to critically review the health of Guinean-Cuban bilateral cooperation before taking stock of the (?common past). What did we notice? The answer is very simple: Cooperation with the Republic of Cuba has basically operated to the general satisfaction of both countries. The commitments undertaken at the last joint

commission meeting are in the process of being implemented in a remarkable fashion. The level of implementation of these commitments is quite high, not only in relation to the objectives pursued by also in terms of the level of execution with (?other) countries.

With Cuba, it should be noted that the cooperation accords cover vital sectors, the most important of which are: agriculture, fishing, health and education, tourism, and culture. These sectors, it may be stated, have so far been the key areas of cooperation, but thanks to the sense of imagination demonstrated by the two parties and, particularly, to the political will manifested, new prospects have opened up in the area of technical cooperation and the setting up of public enterprises.

Generally speaking, as of now cooperation with Cuba is generally healthy, even though some minor difficulties still remain to be resolved. To sum up, I would say that as part of the strengthening of cooperation between Guinea and Cuba, all the key sectors were examined. These, among others, included the rehabilitation of the poultry farm projects of (Katioma) and (Kabourou), an increase in the number of scholarships at high and middle school levels, the training in Cuba of (?museum) specialists and executives in the hotels and tourism realm, granting of (?health awards) for the sick in Guinean. Guinea expressed to Cuba her desire to see the short-term training programs converted to long-term undergraduate and graduate training course, especially in the area of health. As may be seen, Guinean-Cuban cooperation is healthy. [end recording]

It should be recalled that the Cuban foreign minister was accompanied by the Cuban deputy minister of foreign relations in charge of international cooperation. The latter also held discussions with senior technical men of the Guinean Ministry of Plan and International Cooperation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Public Health and Population, the Ministry of Education, and other departments.

Liberia

Sawyer To Request Border Closure With Ivory Coast

*AB2608161291 Paris AFP in English 1557 GMT
26 Aug 91*

[Text] Monrovia, Aug 26 (AFP)—Interim president Amos Sawyer will call on Ivory Coast head of state Felix Houphouet-Boigny to close its border with Liberia if main rebel leader Charles Taylor refuses to disarm ahead of democratic elections. "Houphouet is part and parcel of the solution to this (Liberian) problem, and he is fully aware that it is not possible to hold elections while people are holding arms around the country," Sawyer told AFP and a visiting Ivorian journalist in a recent interview.

"Houphouet-Boigny told me he did not know Taylor. But from all accounts we know that Taylor would not have entered Liberia without passing through Ivory Coast" at the start of country's rebellion in December 1989, he said. But Sawyer said he was sure that the Ivorian government was "in firm control of its border."

The fact that the border and the neighboring regional town of Danane were open and "Taylor and his people are moving in and out signifies some form of good cooperation," he charged. "If the chief peacemaker (Houphouet-Boigny) is unable to get Taylor to put down his arms, then we will have to draw some conclusion as to the intentions of President Boigny," Sawyer added.

A third meeting of West African leaders chaired by Houphouet-Boigny and attended by Sawyer and Taylor is expected to be held in the Ivorian political capital Yamoussoukro by early next month. The government of the late Liberian president Samuel Doe accused the Ivory Coast at the beginning of the conflict of allowing Taylor to carry arms over the Ivorian border.

"But we know he is the grand old man of African politics and the doyen of the sub-region. We expect him to be a genuine, authentic peacemaker," Sawyer said. He said elections constitute the "strategy in resolving this problem. The question now is to see who is genuinely sincere about free and fair elections."

Togo

Chairman on Plans To Create Disorder, Panic

AB2408113091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 0615 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] At the beginning of yesterday's proceedings of the national conference, the chairman of the Presidium, Monsignor Kpodzro, read a letter sent to the Presidium Bureau:

[Begin recording] Honorable delegates, we have learned from reliable sources that maneuvers are under way to create disorder and panic among the people. Soldiers dressed in plain clothes, selected by the head of state himself, are being asked to take positions at strategic points in the city of Lome and create panic by firing shots into the air. The official media would apportion the ensuing violence to disgruntled delegates at the sovereign national conference. Power-drunk and over ambitious political party leaders would also be held responsible for participating in the violence. At the same time, opposition officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers would be assassinated by the head of state's henchmen.

To lead this operation, [words indistinct], a French mercenary, Mr. Ponsue, arrived in Lome and was accommodated on 21 August 1991 in Room 30 at the Hotel Le Benin. He asked to be moved to an apartment on 22 August 1991. He has no luggage and has made several visits to town. We are making an emotional

appeal to the head of state to stop this Machiavellian operation. We also urge the minister of interior and security to arrest Mr. Ponsue for interrogation [applause]. We appeal to the population to take up a peaceful vigilance.

From reliable sources in the RIT [expansion unknown] Camp, 100 soldiers are armed, some with revolvers with silencers and others with automatic weapons. This troop has been placed under the orders of Commander Joa, and starting 26 August 1991 it will roam around the Fazao Room at Hotel 2 Fevrier at night. Also, among the security men, the policemen and gendarmes who are at the entrance of the Fazao room—Joa's men—have been asked to assassinate the delegates at their doors. The Presidium has been called upon to investigate this plot jointly with the minister of interior. In case of misinformation and denial, soldiers can give evidence [applause]. The letter that was sent to us was duly signed. [end recording]

Following the reading of this letter, one of the delegates at the national conference, lawyer Ocansey, made the following accusation:

[Begin Ocansey recording] Mr. President of the Presidium, dear delegates: What the Presidium has just learned is very, very serious and true. I am not sending you a letter. I am speaking clearly and bear the entire responsibility for what I say. Some of the members of this network are in this hall. They are Minister Pere, Interior Minister Yao Komlavi, and Minister Agbeyome Kodjo. These discussions were held at Lome II. I would like them to come here and I will give them the proof! Let them come and we will talk! [end recording]

Interior and Security Minister Yao Komlavi, against whom the accusation was leveled, said this:

[Begin Komlavi recording] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I have just been called upon to account for an extremely serious problem. As a citizen of this nation, I willingly want to contribute to the success of this conference. I have surpassed myself. I have done my best, but I do not want any recognition from anyone but for you to stand up. First of all, Mr. President, in your capacity and knowing that I also have my share of responsibility in this country concerning security, and take a letter and read it before asking my (?opinion) without any prior information. [sentence as heard] That is the first point because [words indistinct] and I personally call on the president, the members of the Presidium, and even some party leaders to hold discussions so that everything can go better in this country. Mr. President, as for lawyer Ocansey's gratuitous statement, he must necessarily give me a proof! He now has in front of him a man! I am no longer speaking as a minister of interior but as me, Yao Komlavi! Let him give me evidence!

Mr. President, we were at this conference when we learned of the Togolese Armed Forces statement. Many of us delegates even left this hotel together, but in the face of such a statement, it was my duty as minister of

interior and security to go and see the head of state in order to know what was happening! I told you personally that I do not like hearsay. I would not go and do anything without the knowledge of—I will not say this conference—but this nation because where we are now is before history; we are before history! Mr. President, I picked up the telephone at Lome II and held discussions with you. I would like you to tell this August assembly the suggestions I made to you from Lome II and Lome I. Mr. President, the problem is so serious that I do not know how I can assume the responsibility of ensuring security and at the same time organize insecurity in this country!

I know, of course, that for some time lawyer Ocansey has been doing all in his power to become minister of defense and security. That is not my problem! That is not my concern! We are here as citizens and it was on the grounds of my citizenship that I accepted to accomplish a given mission, but that is not the problem. Considering the gravity of the accusation leveled against me by lawyer Ocansey, I am asking him to prove his accusation. Thank you, Mr. President. I will be back. [end recording]

President Eyadema Suspends National Conference

AB2608153591 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 1336 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Speech by President Gnassingbe Eyadema from the National Conference in Lome—live]

[Text] Fellow Togolese: [Words indistinct] national conference and which puts (?1,001 hindrances) on the future of our country. Indeed, by proclaiming itself sovereign by its Act No. 1, the National Conference violated the 12 June Accord, signed before us and before the entire people by opposition leaders and the government. We had to take the necessary precautions to open negotiations and conclude agreements—first with the Front of Associations for Renewal, the Democratic Opposition Front, and the Democratic Opposition Coalition—before the start of the conference because we wanted to avoid those excesses that are harmful to the free exercise of the democratic game. By seeking to exercise sovereignty in an unlimited manner, the conference immediately, exclusively, and absolutely overstepped the logic of democracy to land itself into an empty [words indistinct], which seriously threatens our nascent democracy.

Furthermore, it is regrettable that this National Conference, organized on the basis of forgiveness and the reconciliation of all the sons of the nation, should be transformed into a tribunal to try tribes and into a mind-poisoning campaign of lies—everything that threatens national unity and social peace. The disquieting developments of the National Conference brought the Togolese Armed Forces and the Security Forces to clearly express their position on the immediate political future of our country. On 21 August, 1991, we saw the drifting of the national conference reach its apex with the

serious and unproven accusations that the chairman of the presidium leveled against us.

The campaign of denunciation and disinformation that the National Conference embarked on also on the same day accused three government members of plotting, with our consent, to kill peaceful citizens and leaders of political parties.

Another regrettable incident: In violation of the standing regulations and in a half-empty room, the National Conference on 24 August 1991 adopted the Basic Law of the transition, which is the most important text of this period leading us to the next elections. Furthermore, the excesses of this conference, which wanted to place itself above the state's institutions, have paralyzed our country's activities. The economy is slowing down, the hotels are empty, the Lome Free Port Authority is virtually closed down, customs revenues are steadily falling, taxes are no longer paid, and traders who have been operating in Togo for a long time are worried. Some factories in Lome and the interior have begun to close their doors. Insecurity maintained by organized groups has filtered to neighboring states via road transports and trading activities, the backbone of our country.

In the face of this situation, which is crippling our economy, posing the danger of depriving workers of their salaries in the coming months, and seriously threatening the future of our country, leading most assuredly to clashes among the various national components, by virtue of the powers that the people have entrusted to me, I have decided to suspend the National Conference temporarily so a compromise may be reached to settle this crisis and to foster a peaceful transition.

Togolese people, I am therefore inviting you to regain your self-control, to dominate your passions, and to tame your rancors so we do not drive our nation into disorder, anarchy, and chaos, which can only compromise and retard the coming of democracy.

Long Live Togo! Long Live National Unity!

Decree Suspending Conference Issued

AB2608144091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 1345 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Presidential decree issued in Lome on 26 August]

[Text] By a decree signed by the president of the Republic, the national conference, which began on 8 July 1991, is temporarily suspended pending a final agreement on the transitional institutions. The present decree, which becomes effective from the signing date, will be recorded and published wherever necessary.

Soldiers Surround Venue

AB2608145091 Paris AFP in French 1416 GMT
26 Aug 91

[Text] Abidjan, 26 Aug (AFP)—The Togolese president, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, announced today that he had decided to "suspend temporarily," the national conference proceedings, in a televised message to the nation. Shortly afterward, soldiers encircled the Hotel Du 2 Fevrier where the national conference meetings have been taking place, witnesses contacted in Lome from Abidjan affirmed. Soldiers were also present in the streets of Lome, according to the same sources.

Minister on Conference Suspension

AB2608220791 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Clarifications" given by Interior and Security Minister Yao Komlavi on the suspension of the national conference by the government; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Following the incidents of 23 August at the national conference, accusing the head of state and government of organizing a plot to kill officers who do not support the regime and opposition leaders, thus sowing panic within the civilian population and following the adoption of Basic Law of transition in a half-empty room, to the scorn of the standing orders, the government, considering that this situation will irrevocably lead to an impasse, withdrew from the national conference by demanding that proof should be given to substantiate the accusations leveled against the head of state and government.

Following a meeting on 24 August with the head of state, Monsignor Dosseh, archbishop of Lome, and the Reverend Pastor Ayivi, Presidium Chairman Monsignor Kpodzro, having noted the gravity of the situation, promised to do everything to see that this situation is clarified. To this end, he pointed out that he will have the conference deliberations suspended, first to enable the Presidium and counselor Ocansey to produce proof to substantiate the serious accusations leveled against the head of state; and second to reword Chapter 4 of the proposed constitution by taking into consideration the optimum balance of power between the head of state and the new prime minister who will be appointed by the national conference. The Presidium chairman did not respect his undertaking and went ahead with the deliberations of the national conference. Furthermore, it should be noted that the government had sent a letter to Monsignor Kpodzro to be read at the national conference to mark its indignation and its concern in the face of the situation thus created.

On 25 August seeing that no change had been made, the government solicited the help of a group of wise men comprising religious figures and traditional chiefs. [passage omitted]

This morning, according to reports given to the head of state in the presence of members of his government, the group of wise men met the chairman of the Presidium and two leaders of the opposition. These people acknowledged that the situation in which the national conference finds itself is full of danger and that it is necessary to find remedies as soon as possible: first of all, to clarify the accusations leveled against the head of state and the government; and second, to examine the possibility of rewording Chapter 4 of the draft constitution. To this end, the chairman of the Presidium planned to suspend the deliberations of the national conference and engage in consultations with the aim of finding a compromise necessary for the pleasant outcome of the conference. We cannot help but note that once again the promise was not respected and the national conference went ahead, undertaking to elect members of the High Council of the Republic and the prime minister before the closure of the deliberations for today.

In the face of such a situation, the government did not have any other alternative but to temporarily suspend national conference deliberations before an irreparable situation was created. It remains prepared for constructive dialogue and negotiations so that the transition and the democratic process is carried out to its end in calm and tranquillity. The wise men are relentlessly continuing their consultations, and the government is determined and undertakes to do everything so that deliberations of the national conference resumes and ends successfully as soon as a compromise is found.

Border With Ghana Closed; No Reason Given

AB2608182191 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Reports from Aflao say Togo this afternoon closed its side of the border with Ghana. According to Ghanaian immigration officials at Aflao, no reasons were given for the closure. Meanwhile, many travelers are stranded at both sides of the border. And in Togo, President Gnassingbe Eyadema has ordered the temporary suspension of the national conference being held on the country's political future. [passage omitted]

Border Reopened 27 Aug

AB2708120591 Dakar PANA in English 1125 GMT
27 Aug 91

[Text] Accra, 27 Aug (GNA/PANA)—Normal business resumed between Ghana and Togo borders Tuesday after the Togolese authorities re-opened their side of the border with Ghana. The border was closed Monday on orders of the Togolese leader Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema, leaving several hundred travellers and traders stranded on both sides of the divide.

The GHANA NEWS AGENCY, reporting from Aflao, a border town just outside the Togolese capital of Lome, quoted a senior Ghanaian immigration official as saying they have been formally informed about the re-opening.

The official said Togolese immigration officials told him at 0900 GMT that the border has been re-opened on orders from the Togolese authorities.

National Conference Elects Prime Minister

*AB2708093091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] The people of Lome woke up this morning with a prime minister who will lead the country through the transition period. The prime minister is Mr. Kokou Koffigoh. He was elected last night by national conference delegates. This piece of information, which is highly important in view of the development of events in Togo since yesterday, was given to us a short while ago by our special correspondent Crepin Nganga. Crepin also tried to tone down the alarming reports that were reaching us from Lome. Let us listen again to his telephone conversation with Ghislain Etoumbe at 0631 GMT:

[Begin Nganga recording] Yes, there are some changes to the reports I heard this morning—I know it is normal for people to be worried in such circumstances—I did leave Hotel du 2 Fevrier a few hours ago. My initial report is that Mr. Koffigoh has been elected prime minister, in spite of the suspension of the deliberations. He defeated Professor Gninevi. The second important information is that the Hotel du 2 Fevrier, which was surrounded by security forces [words indistinct] before the end of the deliberations. The third information is that Lome, for the time being, does not seem [words indistinct]. For the time being, there are fewer people jogging along the

streets of the capital. Jogging is one important early morning sporting activity of the people. People do a lot of sports in the morning. Anyway, Lome is not yet looking like a (?deserted) camp, however, we are yet to see how things will develop during the day. [end recording]

Let me add to this report that conference delegates have also voted to dissolve the Rally of the Togolese People, the single ruling party. Let us recall that the name of the prime minister to serve during the transitional period is Mr. Kokou Koffigoh. Let us learn about this man and the prerogatives linked to his post. Ghislain Etoumbe, you have the details:

[Etoumbe] Joseph Kokou Koffigoh is 43 years old and is president of the Togolese League of Human Rights. He is known for having played a major role within the opposition to achieve rapid democratization in Togo. He was elected prime minister early this morning after defeating Leopold Mensah Gninevi, general secretary of the Democratic Convention of African People, CDPA.

Mr. Koffigoh is expected to exercise full authority over the administration and the Army because under the terms of the sovereign national conference, the prime minister is head of the transitional period. He and the High Council of the Republic will be in charge of the transitional administration. Most importantly, Mr. Koffigoh is expected to tackle the task of reviving the country's economy and preparing the constitutional referendum expected to be held in February 1992 as well as the legislative elections to be held on 19 April and 3 May 1992. [passage omitted]

END OF

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30 Aug. 1991

